

Goa's Inquisition

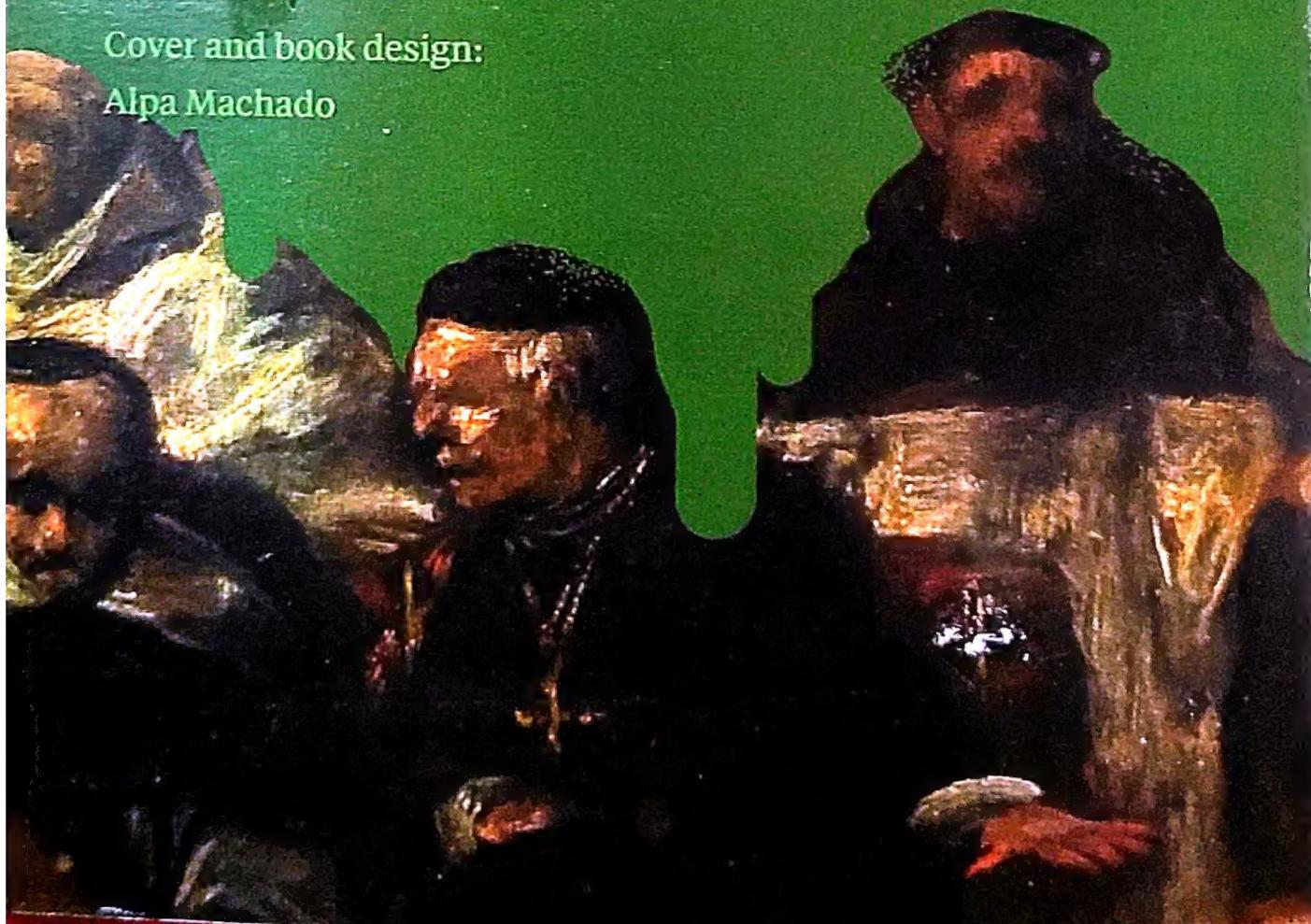
facts - fiction - factoids -

Alan Machado (Prabhu)



visitors attempted to penetrate and control individual consciences, and remove heretics from Christian society. The interplay of light and darkness in Goya's 1816 painting evokes emotions of the righteousness and terror pervading a session of the Tribunal at work. A shaft of light illuminates a heretic seated, bowed and beaten, amongst his judges. From above him, a green (the tablecloth colour in the hall of the Sabayo Palace) cleansing wave smothers his heretical brain. His costume of infamy, however, reveals his obstinate unrepentance has destined him for the fire.

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facts - fiction - factoids —

Alan Machado (Prabhu)

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aus\$eo

"Praise God"- the concluding entry of
the 1664, December 7 auto-da-fe list.
The ceremony, celebrated at the Se Cathedral
involved 266 penitents, the highest
number in a Goan auto-da-fe.
ANTT:PT-TT-TSO-II-004-0010_m0538

Contents

01 *The Santo Oficinario*
Inquisición de Goya
More Sinners Against
Than Sinning
Page 8



02 *The Crossing Through*
Inquisition Archives
Page 10



05 *Visión*
auto-afirmativa
Page 22



08 *Wandlungen*
Wandlungen
Page 28



11 Heresy and
Treason
Page 30

12 *Gentilhombre*
and Society
Page 36



15 *The Numbers*
Page 58

Abbreviations *Page 1*
Terminology and Spellings *Page 1*
A Word before We Begin *Page 2*

03 | The Inquisition in Europe

Page 28

04 The Arrival of the Inquisition in Goa

Page 40

06 The Changing World of Goa's Inquisitors

Page 64

07 Jurisdiction and the Inquisition's Shifting Focus

Page 74

09 The Ministers and Officials of the Inquisition

Page 90

10 The Inquisitorial Procedure

Page 100

13 Sodomy and the Process of Pe Joao da Costa

Page 122

14 Other Offences and Sentences

Page 130



16 The *auto-da-fe* lists

Page 144

17 | The First Six
Decades: 1561-1623
Page 158

18 | The Transfers of 1632
Page 164

21 | Assolna (1686),
Cuncolim (1694),
Jua (1699)
Page 196

22 | The Edict of 1736
Page 204



25 | Padres and Friars
Page 234

26 | Those Not of
the Faith
Page 242

29 | The Inquisition
and Tipu's *chelas*
Page 272



30 | The Burnings
Page 278

33 | Emigration and
the Inquisition
Page 294

34 | A Summing Up
Page 302

19

The *autos-da-fe*
of 1650-51

Page 170

20

Dellon, Ephraim,
and a Forgery

Page 184

23

Bardes and
the Inquisition

Page 212

24

Aldona at the
Northern Frontier

Page 220



27

The Privileged
and Underprivileged

Page 248

28

Gabriel's Story

Page 264

31

The Archbishop of
Evora's Sermon and
Dellon Again

Page 284

32

The 1684 Ban
on Konkani

Page 290

Glossary and Notes

Page 313

Bibliography

Page 317

Index

Page 325

Abbreviations

ANTT - *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* (Lisbon)

BNP - *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal* (Lisbon)

BNR - *Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro)

Estado - Estado da Índia

CE - Common Era

BCE - Before Common Era

EIC - East India Company

Terminology and Spellings

The terms used by the Inquisition for various social groups often differ from modern ones. For instance, the term *Hindu* is never used. Instead, it is *gentio* which broadly means gentile or idol worshipper. Similarly, *mouro* is used for a Muslim. These and other contemporary terms are generally used in the text.



A Word before We Begin

I have a personal interest in knowing more about the *Santo Officio do Inquisicao da Goa*, hereafter termed Goa's Inquisition.

My family history, with no supporting evidence however, remembers the Inquisition as a possible cause for the ancestral migration from Aldona, Bardes to Omzur, near Mangalore. This morsel of oral history was written down about 300 years after the migration, 200 years after a bitter 15-year Captivity in Srirangapatna that left Joao Macedo (Prabhu) as the family's only known survivor, and 150 years after my direct ancestor moved to Mangalore to support a growing family. Through it all, the Inquisition remained a dark chapter in the recesses of our collective memory. Whether fact, fiction, or factoid, is what I set out here to know.

The family history remembers us as *ganvkars* from Aldona. Macedo (the name changed to Machado in the 1880s for unknown reasons) and Prabhu link us to its 12th *vangod*. Genetics strengthens this link; I share my Y-chromosome haplogroup with some of Aldona's *ganvkars*.

Aldona, then, was a frontier village with strong economic, cultural, and family ties to communities across a porous border. It was an entry point for influences that could "corrupt" converts and lure them away from the new religion. That brought them under the purview of religious deviation from the mid-seventeenth through to the mid-eighteenth centuries, when Maratha incursions into Bardes caused a long spell of economic disruption and periodic famine - hardships that many sought to escape. There is evidence that the Inquisition was overly active in Aldona during part of this period.

Caste-wise, the largest number of Christian Aldonkars convicted by the Inquisition was Brahman, the caste to which my ancestors belonged. I found a few Macedos and Prabhus in the Inquisition lists but none with direct links to Aldona. I found Francisco Aranha who may have been an ancestor of my children. He was a native of Candolim which happens to be the ancestral place of my wife's family who migrated to Kanara. He was working as an assistant in Kanara when he was convicted for sorcery in 1690. He was sentenced to wear the *carocha* of the sorcerer and six years in the galleys, besides being exiled from Kanara.

I found Goans who may have known Joao Macedo as a fellow *chela* in Tipu Sultan's military slave corps formed in 1784 from Christian boys taken captive from Kanara. Among them were Joaquim Faria (1796, aged 28) from Guirim, living in Kirem near Mangalore when taken captive, and Salvador Lobo (1800, 27) from Mangalore (Chapter 29). More likely is Joao de Sousa (1793, 26), a native of Omzur. He confessed voluntarily at the *meza* to converting to Islam, listening to religious instructions, prostrating and praying in mosques, and marrying a Christian woman according to Muslim rituals, all for fear of beatings and violence. Joao Macedo's experience through the Captivity may have been similar.



Writing the history of the Inquisition involves a balancing act and an unbiased evaluation of primary archival data, not selective repetitions of earlier histories compiled largely from secondary sources and peppered by personal biases. There have been bad inquisitors, there have been excesses, and there have been personal tragedies that appear as acts of cruelty and persecution by modern standards. My calculations from archival sources arrive at an estimate of 18,986

prosecutions spread over 248 years. This works out to an annual average of 77 from a population that inhabited a territory that once stretched from Mozambique to Timor. The Inquisition's jurisdiction in India covered Diu, Daman, the Provinca do Norte, Goa (Bardes, Ilhas, Salcete), and settlements in Kanara, Malabar, Mylapore, and Bengal. Punishments varied from mild (spiritual instruction and penances) to execution in rare cases. Do such numbers and sentences justify the terrifying reputation earned by Goa's Inquisition? The secretive nature of its operations and destruction of much of its archives have aided the making of this reputation. There is, however, a considerable volume of primary data still surviving which, when researched and analysed, may unmake it.

Laws and much else have changed since the times of the Inquisition. Torture to extract truth in doubtful cases, for instance, was an accepted procedure in civil courts. To project it as a hallmark of Inquisitorial investigations distorts reality. Other biases, at both ends of the spectrum, cloud the Inquisition's history in misinformation. The fact is that the Inquisition, originally founded to search for and eliminate heretics, was used by Spain and Portugal in the process of state formation to transform and discipline its society into conformance to a new social order. Sections of the old order, particularly the *Cristaos-Novos*, suffered enormously. Portugal's experience with its *Cristaos-Novos* was fundamental to the founding of Goa's Inquisition. With their virtual disappearance in Goa, the focus shifted elsewhere.

This book, an attempt to understand how and why the Inquisition came to Goa, its working, and its influence, is possible primarily because of the store of primary documents preserved in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon) (ANTT) and other archives. Contrary to popular belief, they preserve a considerable volume of papers and documents from the *secreto*. Some of it has been digitized

and is freely accessible online. I would recommend them to anyone interested. Perhaps after a diligent search, you may find someone who may be your ancestor, someone the family preferred to forget.

This book is not just about events that occurred centuries ago with no relevance to developments taking place today. The history of Goa's Inquisition has a lot to teach us. Change the dates and places, change the names and issues, and we will find very similar and recognisable developments occurring in our world today. Goa's Inquisition is neither something to be defended nor vilified. Rather, it is something to be studied and analysed so as to understand what happened, and perhaps more important, its modern avatars.

Yes, they exist.



**Entrance into the City of Goa
from the River Mandovi via the Viceroy's Arch**



Mercy and Justice- the motto of Goa's Inquisition

Engraving by Bernard Picart, 1722



Chapter One

The Santo Ofício da Inquisição da Goa - More Sinned Against than Sinning?

“I am a man more sinn’d against, than sinning.”

King Lear, Act 3, scene 2

“There are few words in our language which stir such emotional repercussions of an unpleasant and provocative character as the term, Inquisition...A subject which so quickly enkindles the smouldering prejudices of religious hostility and inflames the passions of hatred is not easy to discuss with calmness or objectivity...Writers have approached the Inquisition carrying in their hand a bucket of paint-black or white- intent upon smearing it or whitewashing it” (O’Brien, 1950: 5).

Today, modern scholarship is slowly but surely transforming the black and white of yesteryear into shades of grey.

An inquisition, under Roman law, was simply an enquiry instituted against a person denounced for some crime. Adopted by the Church to investigate heresy, the process gradually acquired the reputation of an engine of persecution. The Inquisition could not have functioned

for so long without support from multiple levels of society. Some, like the General Assembly of the ganvkars of Salcete, viewed it as the last resort in the search for justice. In 1642, it approached the king in desperation: "It is impossible for the people to find justice in this land, because of the enemies who are too powerful: Firstly, there are the viceroys who always require more money for the needs of the state. Secondly, the Ministers of the Public Exchequer keep sending the helpless tax-payers from one court of justice to another, if they go to seek justice. Finally, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus are the toughest of the lot, and even the viceroys do not dare to take them to task. We request Your Majesty to find remedy to our ills. We wish that the Holy Inquisition be entrusted with the task of conducting a secret enquiry into all that has been exposed in this memorandum, because no one else can dig into this dirt without fearing reprisals" (de Souza 2009: 196).

Goa's Inquisition, while deliberately clothing its operations in a thick veil of secrecy, maintained a very visible physical presence. The Sabayo Palace was located in the very heart of the capital, enclosing along with the Se Cathedral and the Senate building, the Terreiro do Sabayo. Its staff was small, its presence beyond the Sabayo Palace invisible but made very palpable by its *familiares* and *naiques*. Drawn from privileged sections of society, they were considered as members of the Inquisition's family. They carried no arms when setting out to apprehend someone, just their staff and badge of office. In many cases, they were superfluous. Many, who felt the cold baleful shadow of the Inquisition fall their way, presented themselves voluntarily with the hope of receiving a lighter sentence.

The creation of the Black Legend

Initially, the authority of the Inquisition was rarely questioned. Matters changed with the emergence of the more centralized Spanish,

Portuguese and Italian Inquisitions in the sixteenth century, a period which saw the consolidation of Protestantism in northern Europe.

Protestant writers, especially English and Dutch, were instrumental in portraying the Inquisition in all its horrifying hues at a time when their countries were engaged in continual warfare with Spain, and Britain was convulsed by a violent confrontation between Catholic and Protestant factions. Queen Mary attempted to bridge her father's break with Rome; her half-sister Elizabeth widened the chasm. Mary married Phillip of Spain and instituted a vigorous persecution of Protestants; England and Spain warred during much of Elizabeth's reign.

In 1585, an English army joined Dutch forces fighting a Spanish army that had occupied the Low Countries, small states that later united to form the Netherlands and Belgium. In 1588, a Spanish armada of 130 warships, in attempting to invade England, was battered by storms and a nascent English navy. The Netherlands effectively gained independence by 1609, but it was recognized by Spain only in 1648.

This military campaign was supplemented by a vicious propaganda offensive in which Spain's Inquisition became a principal target for attack and vilification. A series of books appeared on the terrors of the 'terrible tribunal'. In Anglo-centric literature, the Spanish Inquisition gained an unquestioned reputation for extreme brutality and sadistic injustice. The ongoing public executions of Catholics in the fires of Protestant countries went unnoticed.

It was in this confrontational context that Dellen's *Relation de l'inquisition de Goa* appeared in 1687. Skilfully written and set in an exotic location, it became a best-seller. Reprinted many times, it inspired a new genre of writing: that of heroic individuals defying the Inquisition, of dungeons and torture, of innocent girls in the clutches of sadistic inquisitors. It captivated audiences for decades to come, and added to the growing representation of a terrifying Goan Inquisition

An example of Anglo-centric literature on the
Inquisition: the contents of *Authentic Memoirs Concerning
the Portuguese Inquisition*. London. 1761.

C O N T E N T S.

Letter I. *O*f the vile origin of the Portuguese Inquisition, and boundless extent of its jurisdiction, p. 1

Letter II. The whole solemnity of an *Auto de fe*, a mockery both of God and man, p. 23

Letter III. Of the barbarous treatment of the New Christians, and genuine character of Inquisitors, p. 32

Letter IV. Remarkable instance of the iniquitous proceedings of the Holy Office, from the celebrated Padre Vieira, p. 47

Letter V. Of the burning alive of Jews and Heretics, p. 62

Letter VI. Of religious Massacres, and the true character of St. Dominic, the first Inquisitor, p. 72

Letter VII. Of the horrid persecutions and calumnies raised against the ancient Protestants, p. 87

Letter VIII. Of the French and Irish Massacres, and the character of modern Irish Papists, p. 101

Letter IX. Of the cruel executions in Queen Mary's reign, and Fox's Martyrology, p. 111

Letter X. Of Archibald Bower, and his History of the Popes, p. 126

Letter XI. Of Popish Saints, Relics, Miracles, and Legends, and the impostures of Friars compared with those charged on the Methodist Preachers, p. 146

Letter XII. Of the divine revelations of the Spanish Nun, and Popish Canonization, p. 160

Letter XIII. Of the Chevalier d'Oliveira, and his address to the King of Portugal, on the calamity of the earthquake, p. 178

Letter XIV. The most abominable crimes countenanced by Inquisitors, p. 188

Letter XV. Parallel between the English and Portuguese Nations, in point of theft and dishonesty, p. 200

Letter XVI. In point of lewdness and debauchery, p. 220

Letter XVII. In point of murder and assassination, p. 240

Letter XVIII. On the late conspiracy of the Portuguese Jesuits, p. 256

Letter XIX. Further remarks on the two nations, p. 274

Letter XX. Recent instance, in England, of the dreadful tendency of Popery, p. 285

Letter XXI. The same subject continued, p. 303

Letter XXII. History of the abominable intrigue of Father H-n, and the wicked artifices of his brethren, p. 317

Letter XXIII. Remarks on the preceding Narrative, p. 325

Letters

by English travellers. On a visit to Goa at the end of the seventeenth century, Fryer wrote: "I ask no questions, for fear of the Inquisition, which here is a terrible tribunal" (Fryer 1698: 148).



Dellon's book coincided with a growing interest in the concept of religious tolerance. In 1689, Locke published *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, and three years later Limborch published his *Historia Inquisitionis*. Both authors opposed religious persecution in general and inquisitorial persecution of Protestants in particular. The *Historia Inquisitionis*, translated into English in 1731, is one of the most important early works of Inquisition historiography.

Its bibliography cites Dellon. It became a primary resource for other histories: for instance, Baker's 1734 *History of the Inquisition* and Marchant's 1756 *A Review of the Bloody Tribunal*, both of which plagiarized entire sections.

Limborch's 125-page introduction made his intention clear: "It is in order to expose this shameful Practice, and render it the Abhorrence of all Mankind, that I have drawn up the foregoing Sheets, and, I presume, that no one who hath not put off Humanity itself can read them, without becoming Sentiments of Indignation." The tone was set by the biblical quotations at the beginning of each volume:

Vol 1 (Isaiah 59-7) - "Their Feet run to Evil, and they make haste to shed innocent Blood: Their Thoughts are Thoughts of Iniquity; Washing and Destruction are in their Paths...He goes about as a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour"

Vol 2 (Proverbs 12-10) - "Their tender Mercies are Cruelty. Their Throat is an open Sepulchre; with their Tongues they have used Deceit; the Poison of Asps is under their Lips: Whose Mouth is full of Cursing and Bitterness."

The message struck deep in the minds of Protestant readers.

The Black Legend in India (Buchanan 1811: 25-36; 123-141)

This narrative reached India with the Protestant Rev Claudius Buchanan, an advocate of the missionary effort in India. To Buchanan, India was one of the "nations which seek the Revelation of God." He set the tone of his "researches" with the unshakeable conviction "that the civilization of the Hindoos will be promoted by intercourse with the English." Buchanan chose to exemplify that civilization by a stark description of his 1806 visit to the Jaganath Temple in Odisha. It begins fifty miles away: "We know that we are approaching Juggernaut...by the human bones which we have seen for some days strewed by the way... The dogs, jackals, and vultures, seem to live here on human prey. The vultures exhibit a shocking tameness..." The gory details continue: "The vultures generally find out the prey first; and begin with the intestines; for the flesh of the body is too firm for their beaks... On the approach of the dogs, the vultures retire a few yards, and wait till the body be sufficiently torn for easy deglutition. The vultures and dogs often, feed together, and sometimes begin their attack before the pilgrim be quite dead..." The living add to the filth: "Persons of both sexes, with little regard to concealment, sit down on the sands close to the town, in public view; and the sacred bulls walk about among them and eat the ordure."

Buchanan reached "this Valley of Death" on May 29 in the peak heat of the Indian summer to witness the climactic event of the festival. As the chariot carrying the idol began to move after the high priest

mounted it and “pronounced his obscene stanzas...the delight of the god” and performed “a variety of disgusting exhibitions,” he watched it crush prostrate pilgrims, “appalled at the magnitude and horror of the spectacle...the characteristics of (which) are obscenity and blood.” A poor woman lay dead, or nearly dead, beside her two children and the gathering dogs and vultures. People passed by without the slightest care.

It was strong fertilizer to the growing tree of British evangelical fervour seeking to follow in the footsteps of its conquering military heroes. Tipu had fallen, the Nizam had been neutralized, and the Marathas were well on the way to being so too. Governor Wellesley’s grand strategy included occupying Goa as a means of thwarting possible French ambitions in India. He informed London in September 1799 that he had done so with the hope that it would “effectually secure our new acquisitions against any possible disturbance either foreign or domestic” (Wellesley 1834: 127). It presented Buchanan with an opportunity to undermine Britain’s main Christian rival, The Roman Catholic Church in India. The Inquisition and “its fires...lately lighted at Goa” became his principal target (Buchanan 1811: 86).

Buchanan visited Goa in June 1808. On expressing his desire to visit the Inquisition, he was told that even the viceroy had no authority over it; rather he was liable to its censure. He writes of his visit to Old Goa - “a republic of Priests; whose dominion had existed for nearly three centuries; whose province it was to prosecute heretics, and particularly the teachers of heresy; and from whose authority and sentence there was no appeal in India” - as one of courage and daring, the lamb entering the lion’s den. When his companions first viewed the Sabayo Palace, he writes “I could see the indignation of free and enlightened men arise in the countenances of the two British officers, while they contemplated a place where formerly their own countrymen

were condemned to the flames, and into which they themselves might now suddenly be thrown, without the possibility of rescue."

Buchanan's narrative is replete with such fanciful visions of horror and revulsion, but nowhere does he present even passable evidence. Instead, his encounter with Inquisitor Josephus a Doloribus, "a man well advanced in life, of pale visage and penetrating eye, rather of a reverend appearance, and possessing great fluency of speech and urbanity of manners," contradicts this terrifying image. After an invigorating conversation in Latin on a variety of subjects, Josephus politely invited Buchanan to be his guest in the monastery of St Augustine in Old Goa. The senior inquisitor later hosted Buchanan to a sumptuous dinner.

The fear of being incarcerated constantly preyed on Buchanan's mind. One night he was awakened by loud shrieks. Believing his servants were being seized and carried off to prison, he rushed out, only to find a few priests in the corridor calming a boy frightened by a ghostly vision.

Buchanan was eventually taken on a short tour of the Sabayo Palace, but his demand to see the "dungeons" was refused. His insistence brought his visit to an abrupt end. He was escorted to the door.

Buchanan made it clear that his intention was to pressurise England into forcing Portugal to shut down the Inquisition's operations. That happened in 1812.

Vindication of the Hindoos from the Aspersions of the Reverend Claudio Buchanan...

In a book published in 1808, a retired officer of the Bengal Army refuted Buchanan's observations and analysis with some vehemence. He strongly disputed the view that conversion to Christianity would civilize the alleged "degraded character of the Hindoos, their superstition, their ignorance, their personal vices, and senseless idolatry." Condemning

Buchanan's prejudices as issuing from a "jaundiced eye", he countered them with a series of observations and quotations from sacred texts to write his "tribute of gratitude to a people whose character, conduct, and manners...have commanded my respect, and secured my esteem." His long residence in India had left him with an indelible conviction that he had "never met with a people, exhibiting more suavity of manners, or more mildness of character; or a happier race of beings, when left to the undisturbed performance of the rites of their religion." He urged missionaries to cease such activity that would disturb this social equilibrium, and strongly advised against the suppression of wandering mendicants and sadhus. It would, he advised, lead to a general uprising of people "displaying the banners of insulted religion" and the desertion of large sections of the native army.

He could not have been more correct. Just short of five decades later, the so-called "mutiny" broke out.

Priolkar

Priolkar's *The Goa Inquisition, The Terrible Tribunal for the East* published in 1961 has played a pivotal role in forming public opinion in India about Goa's Inquisition. The book comes in two parts. The first, comprising 189 pages, does not do justice to the title as a good part of it is devoted to other subjects. Twenty-one pages are devoted to the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions, 60 to a discussion on the authenticity of Dellow's book, conversions, anti-Hindu laws, and Portuguese religious policy, and 10 to the use of torture in Europe. In effect, just about half of the first part, drawing largely from selective secondary sources, deals directly with Goa's Inquisition proper. The second part, close to 100 pages, consists entirely of Dellow's and Buchanan's narratives.

Priolkar dedicated his book to Joaquim Cunha Rivara, the Chief Secretary of the Government of Goa (1855-70), an "inspiration to many

contemporary Indians to undertake research into the activities of the Portuguese in Asia" (Priolkar 1961: viii). He, however, through limitation or intent, ignored Rivara's advice: "We cannot form a well-founded and impartial opinion on the Inquisition as long as historians don't frequent the Torre do Tombo to rummage the Inquisitorial trial records" (Saraiva 2001: 513, quoting Baiao). These, Baiao added, "were secret and, for that very reason, whatever was written in those documents was truthful and never intended to deceive."

Priolkar admitted that "the records of the Inquisition should have formed the most important source of information for writing an account of its working," but circumvented this essential requirement by blandly stating that there was "reason to believe that they were destroyed." Yet, his introduction asserts "the story of the Inquisition is a dismal record of callousness and cruelty, tyranny and injustice, espionage and blackmail, avarice and corruption, repression of thought and culture and promotion of obscurantism..." (Priolkar 1961: x, 34, ix).

Priolkar quoted Goan writers who, for their own reasons, substituted motivated rhetoric for facts and historiographic analysis, for instance, Baretto Miranda (1863): "Every word of theirs (inquisitors) was a sentence of death and at their slightest nod were moved to terror the vast populations spread over the Asiatic regions, whose lives fluctuated in their hands, and who, on the most frivolous pretext, could be clapped for all time in the deepest dungeons or strangled or offered as food for the flames of the pyre." He then delivered a damning indictment of Goa's Inquisition: "The intolerance, ruthlessness, cruelty, and terror which characterised its activities were far removed from the spirit of the Christian Gospels with its emphasis on compassion and love and it was only natural that its victims should have drawn the inference that the Christian God in whose name these activities were carried on was a primitive deity of vengeance and wrath" (Priolkar 1961: 30, 31, 189).

Priolkar quoted extensively from Baiao's two volumes which are replete with references to documents preserved in Portugal's archives. He reproduced dates of autos-da-fe from Adler who very clearly stated he obtained these details from MSS A 4, 34-37 (Inventario 166-169) and Figueira's report preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (Adler 1908: 139, 147).

Today, researchers have increasing access to the centuries-old treasure trove of documents still preserved in global archives. Ironically, ignoring them, in India there is a movement to resurrect and reinvent the "horrors" inflicted by the Inquisition, a story that titillated Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The stories contain little by way of historical accuracy, and demonstrate an almost total absence of the level of scholarship needed to research these resources.

The changing image of the Inquisition

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Inquisition was seen by Iberian Catholics as an institution set up to guarantee the 'purity' and orthodoxy of the faith, and protect society from God's retribution for violation of His law. Protestants viewed it as targeting them and retaliated by creating the Black Legend. To Iberian Jews, the Inquisition institutionalized anti-Semitism directed at their extirpation.

The opening of the Inquisition's secret archives reveal that the Inquisition played a crucial role in defining a new Iberian national identity in which Judaism and Islam had no part. It attempted something similar in Goa by quickly erasing Judaic and Islamic influences within the Estado da India. The focus then shifted to the 'social disciplining' of the king's new convert subjects, admonishing and humiliating, instructing and punishing, while isolating them from ever-pervading gentile influences. Appointed by the king and empowered by the pope, inquisitors actively involved the socially privileged class, familiares and naiques, in their operations. The

auto-da-fe lists are filled by names of persons of lesser privileged castes and professions whose beliefs and practices were seen as posing a threat to the new social order. To them, the Sabayo Palace, the headquarters of the Inquisition, was not so much *vhoddlem ghor* but more appropriately *vhoddilachem ghor*.



St Augustine's Convent (1880) where Buchanan stayed

(D'Souza and Paul, The British Library Board)



Chapter Two

The Opening Up of the Inquisition's Archives

The publication of Silva Dias's book (1974) on the trial of an Augustinian friar Valentim da Luz condemned to death for Lutheranism in 1562 heralded a turning point in the opening of the secret archives of the Portuguese Inquisition (Marcocci 2010). An overview of archival sources by Charles Amiel followed in 1978, and in 1986, a paper identified globally available resources (Henningsen 1986). While pointing out possibilities for inter-disciplinary research to study the internal working, strategies, and social roots of the tribunal, it suggested inquisitorial procedures were at times more moderate than those of secular courts. The following year, conferences held in Lisbon and São Paulo highlighted new approaches to inquisitorial historiography that "even today feel the sensation of a universe that was opening up, a world that was being discovered for the first time" (Marcocci 2010). Since then, a growing number of publications have focused on hitherto unresearched aspects of the Inquisition's complex character like its victims, its internal organisation, and its role in social and territorial control in Portugal's colonies.

Guidelines for the preservation of the Inquisition's documents

The Inquisition took extreme care to secure and preserve its documents. Its bye-laws decreed they should be preserved in a room (*secreto*) with a strong door secured by three different locks, and windows barred by iron grills. The keys were to be kept by two notaries and the promotor, the only persons apart from the inquisitors, allowed entry to the *secreto*. Documents were to be stored in crates and cupboards in a manner that allowed quick identification and retrieval.

The *Regimento* (1613, 1640) specified 11 categories under which the archives were to be organized: completed and ongoing processes; reports; appointments of inquisitors and officials; *appresentados*; denunciations; details of those despatched; lists of censored books; books detailing financial penalties; denunciations and reconciliations with indexation; records of mandates and due diligence; books of accounts. This was, however, not the case when the deputy and promotor Joao Delgado Figueira arrived in Goa in 1618. Finding the archives badly maintained and in a disorganized state, he set about reorganizing them, and listing the cases chronologically and district-wise (Feitler 2018). He compiled a report which included the list and case histories of defendants from 1560 to 1623. His *Reportorio* is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP).

The records accumulated over the years. The Inquisition maintained a continuous correspondence with Portugal. Documents were copied regularly, each copy notarised by an accredited authority for its authenticity. The ANTT, for instance, preserves at least four copies of the 1745 *auto-da-fe*. In days when illiteracy was high and scribes rare, this would have involved considerable effort and expense.

The secreto

The secreto appears as a fairly small room in a 1634 plan of the Sabayo Palace. It was located on the second floor in the front, adjacent to the casa do despacho. Two windows faced north, some protection from the heavy southwest monsoon rains. In a 1774 plan, this room had been merged into the adjacent oratorio (chapel) and converted into the court room. The new secreto was shifted to the old court room, a larger space with three windows but still one door. Apparently, more space was required for the growing number of case files.

The secreto's documents

The Sabayo Palace underwent periodic alterations which hindered record keeping. On-going work on the adjacent Se Cathedral, completed in 1652, meant that dust from construction material added to the problem of proper maintenance.

In 1683, the safety of the documents became critical as Sambaji's army, having taken Jua, was poised at the capital's doorstep. During the Maratha invasion of 1739-40, documents were burnt in the corridors and the rest hastily packed in boxes and sent to Murmagao fort (ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-CG-039-0462_m0064).

Com a occasiois' em que o
Marata invadiu as terras de Goa, devo-
lo se queimarem muitos papeis dentro
secreto, se ajuntou apressadamente
tudo o mais de que elle se compunha
e se mudar p. a fortaleza de Mormu-
guo; se ahi agora tudo se' confundiu
arrimado, que apena pude caber no ter-
reno.

In 1774, Inquisitor General Cardinal Joao da Cunha, obeying the king's dictat to close the Inquisition, ordered an inventory of the secreto and despatch of its documents to Lisbon. The process commenced on October 26, 1774 and was completed on February 3, 1775. The task was undertaken by Inquisitors Manoel Antonio Ribeiro and Joze Antonio Ribeiro da Motta, Melchoir Antonio Cabaeas (promotor), Pedro Antonio Correia and Joao Xavier de Menezes (notaries), Thome da Costa, Vitorino Carvalho, Antonio Francisco Simoes, and Vicente Caetano da Costa (adjutants), and Joao Nogueira da Crus (commissar, Estado da India).

The ban was short-lived. On April 4, 1778, Queen Donna Maria reinstated the Inquisition. Due to the high cost of shipment, only some documents were shipped to Goa by 1782 in two shipments of 10 and four large crates. The rest remained in Lisbon.

On June 16, 1812, Prince Regent Joao, under British pressure, ordered the permanent closure of the Inquisition. Many objects and goods were taken to the residences of the viceroy and state secretary, and the rest deposited in the naval arsenal in a room locked by three keys kept by the viceroy, secretariat, and the naval authority. Three accounting books and one related to staff for the years 1782-1832 lie today in the Panjim archives.

In 1813, promotor Pe Tomas Noronha began a review of the documents to assess which merited preservation. About 2,000 documents were sent to Rio de Janeiro, where the Portuguese court had moved, in 1814. There is no clear evidence that the documents remaining in Goa were burned, but their disappearance indicates that this is what happened.

The Inventory of 1774

The ANTT preserves a bound book titled *Inventory of the Cartons in the Secret Archives of the Inquisition of Goa* (ANTT: PT/TT/TSO-CG/039/0462). Its terms of reference were signed by notary Pedro

Correia and its pages initialised by Inquisitor Manoel Ribeiro. It lists 16,185 trial records in chronological order. Other counts (Baiao 16,172, Saraiva/ Feitler 16,202) vary marginally.

	Crates	Packs	Processes
1700-1774	2	130	3,782
1600-1699	3	171	8,905
1561-1599	2	31	1,243
Total completed	7	332	13,930
Appeal			8
Incomplete			2,247
Total			16,185

Summary details of 1774 Inventory

The state of preservation can be judged when the number of 1,243 for 1561-1599 is compared with that given by Figueira, 1,502 (da Silva 2018). It amounts to a loss of just over 17% in the 150 years between the two counts. The state of disorganization caused by the Maratha invasions is also evident. Case files belonging to the same years are found distributed in different bundles.

Apart from process files, the Inventory listed a large number of handwritten books, reports, notebooks, documents, and correspondences covering various subjects such as denunciations, appresentados, crimes, sodomites, solicitations, reconciliations, abjurations, and heretics.

There were a staggering number of sheets containing details of denunciations and appresentados. Denunciations could be detailed and written down in several sheets, like that of Antonio Peixoto, *meirinho*

of the Inquisition in 1610 by Manoel Matos. It required 16 pages and included testimony and ratification by other witnesses. Peixoto's case file was sent to Lisbon. A comparison of Inventory statistics with auto-da-fe lists suggests that the Inquisition, while collecting volumes of denunciations, was selective in its prosecutions. For instance, a book of appresentados and denunciations for south Goa (southern Salcete) compiled by promotor Domingos Lobo in 1693 had 967 written sheets, while convictions for Salcete were six in November that year, 80 in June 1694 (Cuncolim), and 11 in 1695.

The earliest book of denunciations (April 21, 1561) consists of 292 initialled sheets and is listed together with 10 other books of which two were missing. Dating from 1561 to 1627, they contain a total of 2,391 sheets. There are many others belonging to the period (1561-1623) during which 3,444 persons were convicted.

The Inventory contains details of denunciations from Mozambique, Mombasa, Hormuz, Muscat, China, Japan, Macau, Malacca, Moluccas, Colombo, Goa, Salcete, Bardes, Trapor, Bacaim, Tana, Diu, Daman, Cananore, Mangalore, Honavar, Barcelore, Bengal, Sao Thome de Mylapore, and Cochin. Some books are dated: May 22, 1576 (288 sheets), April 20, 1569 to July 17, 1581 (385 sheets), September 5, 1589 (385 sheets), 1591 (two books during Inquisitor Rui Sodrinho's visit to Cochin), 1589-90 (five books during Inquisitor Thomas Pinto's visit to the North). Many books, just labelled 'old' or 'new', are not numbered. The others add up to over 33,000. The true number would have been many more.

The Inventory also lists books and documents with details of autos-da-fe (five books), names of officials and staff, *Regimentos*, sermons, civilian and criminal cases, and printed books on a range of subjects. They include the new testament in Portuguese, books in various languages including English, Dutch, French, Spanish, Italian,

Latin, and Konkani, books by various authors including eight poems by Voltaire (a severe critic of the Inquisition), and various subjects including the life of Luther.

Other documents

The ANTT contains auto-da-fe lists from Goa dating from 1650 to 1801 which are analysed in different chapters of this book. Other documents include consultations (1572-1671: 207), outward correspondence (1580-1625, 1631-1671, 1672-1749, 1750-1804: 100-103), inward correspondence (1569-1630: 96), disbursements (1647-1649: 500), visitations (1632: 184-185), memoranda for the establishment of the Goan Inquisition (1550-1570: 840), and records of the 1561 Lisbon auto-da-fe initiated in India in 1557.

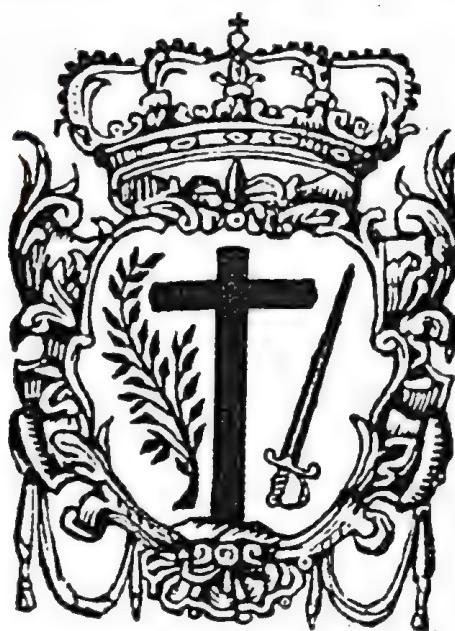
The BNP preserves Figueira's report of 3,441 cases (1561-1623), the *Regimento* of 1778, lists of persons tried between 1685-1764 (cod. 201) and 1765-1805 (cod. 202), and list of public and private Goan autos-da-fe held between 1600-1773 (cod. 866) compiled by Antonio Moreira.

The Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil BNR preserves copies of decrees, royal permits, regulations, edicts of faith, private edicts, lists of defendants, and correspondence dating from the sixteenth to nineteenth century. They are preserved in nine bound volumes of originals and copies (MS 25.1.1 to 9) in chronological order. Subsequently, a tenth volume has been found (Feitler 2008; Faria 2014). It gives us hope that more documents remain to be discovered.



The word 'List' from the 1766 auto-da-fe list

Emblem of the Portuguese Inquisition.



Araujo, Carlos. *A Inquisição em Portugal*. University of Coimbra, 2018

The crown at the apex of the emblem symbolises the Inquisition's role in meeting the Crown's objectives even as the cross at the apex of the crown symbolises God's role in legitimising the king's authority.



Chapter Three

The Inquisition in Europe

The Inquisition was established as a special ecclesiastical court for detecting and suppressing heresies that swept twelfth-thirteenth century Europe (Lea 2010: III; Madden). Heresy may broadly be defined as a belief or opinion contrary to orthodox religious, especially Christian, doctrine. Roman law equated heresy with treason. Heretics were punished with death and confiscation of property, a punishment that was adopted by the Church. Heresy was believed to undermine not only the Church's existence but also the very foundations of Christian society and orderly government. It constituted a lethal and revolutionary threat in the realm of ideas, a threat that the Inquisition was tasked to eradicate. Both Church and State had a hand in its creation (O'Brien 1950: 16-22).

Christianity in the Roman Empire (Madden 2007)

The Roman Empire accepted almost any god considered not hostile to the empire. For Christians, on the contrary, there was only one true God. As Christian doctrine evolved, differing ideas that threatened the Church's unity emerged. Church authority maintained that orthodoxy, or right belief, was passed on to its bishops through the

avowed and unorthodox beliefs constituted heresy. By the second century CE, several potent heresies threatened the authority of the Church to define orthodoxy.

The conversion of Emperor Constantine to Christianity in 311 CE dramatically influenced the evolution of Christianity. Involving himself in matters of faith, he drew Church and State closer by giving clergy civic positions and stipends. In 325 CE, he called an ecumenical council at Nicaea to condemn the Arian heresy which questioned Jesus's divinity. The council approved the Nicene Creed that reaffirmed the belief in one God and the Holy Trinity. Constantine ordered heretics to leave the empire or be sentenced to death and confiscation of their goods. The State now played a role in the correction of heresy, while the Church gained political influence which allowed it to employ legal measures to protect the faith.

Between 529 and 534 CE, Justinian I of the Eastern Roman Empire overhauled civil law and made Christianity the State religion. All his subjects were now required to follow the Orthodox faith deriving from the Nicene Creed: "We order all those who follow this law to assume the name of Catholic Christians, and considering others as demented and insane, We order that they shall bear the infamy of heresy...Let no place be afforded to heretics for the conduct of their ceremonies, and let no occasion be offered for them to display the insanity of their obstinate minds."

Questioning orthodoxy or worshipping other gods was considered inherently treasonous, rebelling against the God-given power of the emperor and weakening the State. Offenders were tried under Roman law. The process began with an inquest, or *inquisitio*, in which the evidence was investigated, witnesses called, and the case prosecuted if there was sufficient evidence. Torture was applied to uncover the truth.

These were the first inquisitions.

The medieval Inquisition

The medieval Inquisition grew out of ecclesiastical reform movements of the eleventh century which targeted, among other issues, clerical abuses such as simony, concubinage, and clerical marriage. Through the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, heresies spread alarmingly through Europe, threatening the very existence of the Catholic Church. Chief among them were the Albigensian or Catharan heresies. In 1184, the pope decreed that obstinate heretics were to be excommunicated and handed over to the secular arm for suitable punishment. Following precedents set by Roman law, heretics were declared traitors and punished with exile, demolition of their houses, infamy, loss of civil rights, disqualification from public office, confiscation of property, and disinheriting of their heirs (O'Brien 1950:23-27).

These prosecutions required a solid legal basis. Scriptures, past papal decrees, Church councils, the writings of Church Fathers, and Roman law were used to formulate what eventually became canon law. A clear procedure was laid out on how to conduct an investigation. Franciscans and Dominicans, being well trained in theology, were appointed judges. They reported directly to the pope and co-operated closely with bishops who were given authority to approve their judgements.

Conducting an inquisition was a complicated business. Inquisitors had to be able to justify their theological and legal authority, identify various and subtle types of heretical and sinful behaviour, and be well acquainted with the procedure from denunciation and arrest to interrogation, torture, judgement, and punishment. As many people, both lay and clerical, fell into heresy through ignorance, persuasion and religious instruction were primary tools used to correct it. In 1215, the pope made annual confessions compulsory. It allowed the confessor to probe the faith of an individual and use persuasion to

correct an error. Hardcore heretics who obstinately held on to their beliefs and led people astray were seen as dangerous persons under the influence of the devil. New methods were invented to root out such hidden heretics.

Initially, inquisitors had no standard manuals to guide them. One of the earliest was written by the inquisitor Bernard Gui (c 1260-1331). Gui's fellow Dominican Nicholas Eymeric (c 1330-1390) followed with a three-part treatise on heresy, canon law, and practices. Other manuals were printed in the following centuries, many citing earlier authorities. In Spain, Grand Inquisitor Torquemada drafted a set of procedures in 1484. The medieval Inquisition, therefore, was guided by very detailed rules and procedures drawn from Roman law and current practices in secular courts.

Usually, a denunciation made by a person of good reputation triggered a general inquisition in which the judge would call witnesses and hear testimony in an attempt to discern whether a trial could go forward. If so, a special inquisition would begin in which the accused would be charged, witnesses heard, and evidence examined.

Suspected persons who refused to admit their guilt were placed on trial. The names of witnesses were not disclosed to the accused, though he was asked to name any enemies so that their testimony could be deleted. False witnesses were punished. Two witnesses or a confession was necessary to convict someone for capital offences.

Pope Innocent IV sanctioned the use of torture in 1252 as a last resort in eliciting the truth. Adopted from secular courts, the methods were similar: water torture, the rack, the *strappado*, the application of fire to the victim's feet. Torture was to be applied only once, but this rule could be circumvented by citing fresh evidence or as a continuation of a previous session. A confession extracted under torture was required to be attested later by the prisoner as being 'free

and spontaneous' and made without the pressure of 'force or fear' (O'Brien 1950: 29-30). Penalties included attending church services in a *sanbenito* with a lighted candle in hand, going on a pilgrimage, fines and public whipping.

Burnt (three died earlier)	42
Persons whose bones were exhumed and burnt	69
Imprisoned (17 died earlier)	307
Released from prison	139
Sentenced to wear crosses	143
Released from having to wear crosses	132
Exposed in stocks	2
Excommunicated	40
Exiled	1
Priests defrocked	2
Sent on pilgrimages	9
Houses demolished	22
Occasions when Jewish books were burnt	1
Interdicts removed	1

The 930 sentences passed in 17 years by Inquisitor Gui

(O'Brien 1950: 33-34)

The Inquisition tried persons of extremely high profile to complete unknowns. Joan of Arc, Archbishop Carranza (1559-1576), Cardinal Morone (1552-1559), and Galileo Galilei (1633) came under the Inquisition's lens, as did the Mexican nomadic healer San Juana and her daughter Viviana, accused of sorcery and demonic possession (1774).

Unlike its trials that were conducted in secret, the sentencing ceremony was very public. Termed the *auto-da-fe*, it aimed, among other motives, at publicising the Inquisition's motto 'Justice and Mercy'. Physical or capital punishments were carried out by secular

authorities to whom the prisoners were 'relaxed', as the Inquisition was not a criminal but an ecclesiastical court.

It was to this formidable organization that the Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, turned to when they set out to create a unifying Catholic identity for Spain.

Spain (Roth 2002)

The Inquisition was introduced to Spain just as it emerged from the shadow of 700 years of Muslim rule. Spanish Christians, Jews, and Muslims had shared Spain's geographical area for centuries and acquired specialised niches in its economy. Financial acumen and usury laws that forbade Christians (but not Jews) from giving loans on interest had placed Jews in a significant position in the economy. Connected to the larger Jewish community settled along the Mediterranean rim, trade gave them ample opportunity for wealth generation. By the late fourteenth century, Spanish Jews had acquired influence even in the royal court.

A wave of anti-Jewish violence engulfed Castile and Aragon between 1391 and 1416. Thousands of Jews converted to Christianity to escape being slaughtered by rampaging mobs. They emerged as a distinct social group in Christian society although not assimilated into it. Called *conversos*, *marranos*, or *Cristaos-Novos*, they continued to live in Jewish areas and adopt Jewish customs while practising the Catholic faith. Freed from earlier restrictions through conversion, conversos spread into the hierarchy of the Church, nobility, and the highest offices in Spain. Resentful Old Christians began falsely accusing them of being crypto-Jews, steeped in heretical Jewish rituals, and conspiring to infiltrate and corrupt the kingdom and its faith. It was a grave accusation, viewed as undermining Christianity.

the very foundation and pillar of the State, and bringing down God's wrath upon Spain; in short, treason.

The marriage in 1469 of Ferdinand and Isabella triggered the process of unifying Spain and constructing an imperial identity. Territorial unification was achieved in 1492 when their combined forces captured Granada, the last Muslim kingdom in Spain. Attention now turned to the cultural assimilation of Spain's large Cristaos-Novos population, and investigating accusations of heresy against them, something which only the Inquisition was qualified to do. On November 1, 1478, the pope allowed the monarchs to establish the Inquisition under royal control. The Inquisition, while drawing its legitimacy from the pope, had become an instrument of the State.

Within a few years, tribunals were set up in Spain's principal cities. Cristaos-Novos were caught between two powerful groups: Old Christians who saw them as rivals, and Jews who saw them as traitors to their heritage. Denunciations poured in, the hysteria ballooned, and hundreds of conversos were convicted of relapsing into Judaism. First-time offenders who abjured their heretical beliefs were 'reconciled' but still faced public humiliation and loss of property (Soyer 2007: 92). Obdurate and relapsed heretics were relaxed to secular authority. With Torquemada turning the Inquisition into a deadly engine of persecution, approximately 2,000 Spaniards were burned at the stake (Madden 2007).

The conflagration touched Spain's Jews who were viewed as the inspiration for conversos continuing to maintain their Jewish heritage. In 1492, the year Columbus sailed on his epic voyage, a royal edict ordered them, approximately 80,000 in number, to convert to Christianity or leave Spain. About half converted. The rest left. An estimated 30,000 immigrated to Portugal by paying hefty entrance fees at the border (Soyer 2007: 137). Those who did not were enslaved.

Others fled to North Africa and Italy. Spain's remaining Muslims were given a similar ultimatum. Some converted (*moriscos*); most left for North Africa and Turkey.

Portugal

The Jewish presence in Iberia probably dates to the first or second centuries CE, long before the creation of Portugal. The *foral dos mouros* (1217) recognised the rights of Muslims whose ancestors had settled in Portugal from 711-715 CE, the time of the Arab conquests (Soyer 2007: 24).

Jews and Muslims paid taxes and were actively engaged in economic activities like agriculture, artisanry, commerce, money-lending, and tax collection (Soyer 2007: 72-75). Artisans of both minorities were heavily involved in craftwork, especially from the fourteenth century when bubonic plague decimated Portugal's population and caused an acute shortage of skilled craftsmen and manpower. The king extended Jews various privileges and pensions for their contribution to armament production. Regional towns offered land as an incentive to attract and retain skilled Muslim artisans. Portuguese Jewish merchants were at the hub of Mediterranean commerce. Extremely wealthy, they made large contributions to defend the realm. Circa 1478-80, they constituted a fifth of the king's creditors. Portuguese Muslims also participated in international commerce, though on a far lesser scale.

Despite their contribution to Portugal's economy, laws treated Jews and Muslims as inferior subjects. Popular suspicion and prejudice against them was widespread, and they were governed by periodic regulations specifically designed to limit their influence. They were compelled to reside in segregated residential areas, wear distinctive symbols, pay discriminatory taxes, and allowed limited social interaction with Christians (Soyer 2007: 82-83). While generally allowed to live peacefully within their community boundaries, they

were victims of occasional riots and targets, through incentives, of conversion. Both communities were entirely dependent upon the protection and goodwill of the king who benefited significantly from their contribution to the royal treasury. His prompt and vigorous intervention prevented the escalation of anti-Jewish violence on numerous occasions during this period.

During the 1480s, considerable numbers of Spanish conversos migrated to Portugal. Despite the king's initial protection, it provoked hostile responses from municipal authorities. Under relentless pressure, the king's views began to change. In 1487, the pope, citing the murder of an inquisitor in Spain instigated by wealthy conversos, ordered Christian rulers to seize and hand over to the Spanish Inquisition any fugitive who had been designated a heretic (Soyer 2007: 98). In Portugal, the king prohibited further immigration of conversos and encouraged their emigration to other countries in Europe.

Joao II of Portugal died in October 1495. His successor Manuel I's ambition was to open the sea route to India and its wealth, ally with friendly Christian princes believed to rule there, and seize control of the spice trade from North African Muslims (Soyer 2007: 166). It required forging a long lasting alliance with Spain, and as Manuel believed, the cultural integration of his Jewish and Muslim subjects into Portugal's Christian identity thereby retaining their wealth and skills.

In December 1496, Manuel ordered Jews and Muslims to convert or leave Portugal within 10 months, or face execution and loss of all property. However, his calculations went awry when the majority of the Jews refused to convert and began to leave. Fearing reprisals against Christians in North Africa, he allowed Muslims to leave while formulating violently coercive plans to prevent an exodus of Jews.

The first strike was against communal property. Synagogues, mosques, religious schools, books, and communally owned buildings were seized. In March 1497, Jewish children aged 14 and below were forcibly baptised and given into the care of Christians. Some were returned to their desperate parents when they converted. This abduction was soon extended to those below 25 years. Finally, Manuel offered further incentives to those who converted (Soyer 2007: 210-17).

Finding some still adamant, Manuel restricted embarkation to the port of Lisbon and specified where Jews should gather. Once quarantined, instead of being allowed to depart, they were forcibly converted. A few, obdurate to the bitter end, resisted and were burnt; others committed suicide out of sheer desperation (Soyer 2007: 240).

Manuel thus retained the wealth and skills of the Jews but Portugal now had a large number of conversos. Attempts to assimilate them into Portuguese society failed dismally (Soyer 2007: 285). Endogamous marriages within the community continued in numbers sufficient to preserve a separate group identity. This alienation was amplified by the continuing suspicion and resentment of Old Christians jealous of the privileges granted to conversos. The discriminatory racial concept of "purity of blood" was introduced to stigmatise Cristaos-Novos.

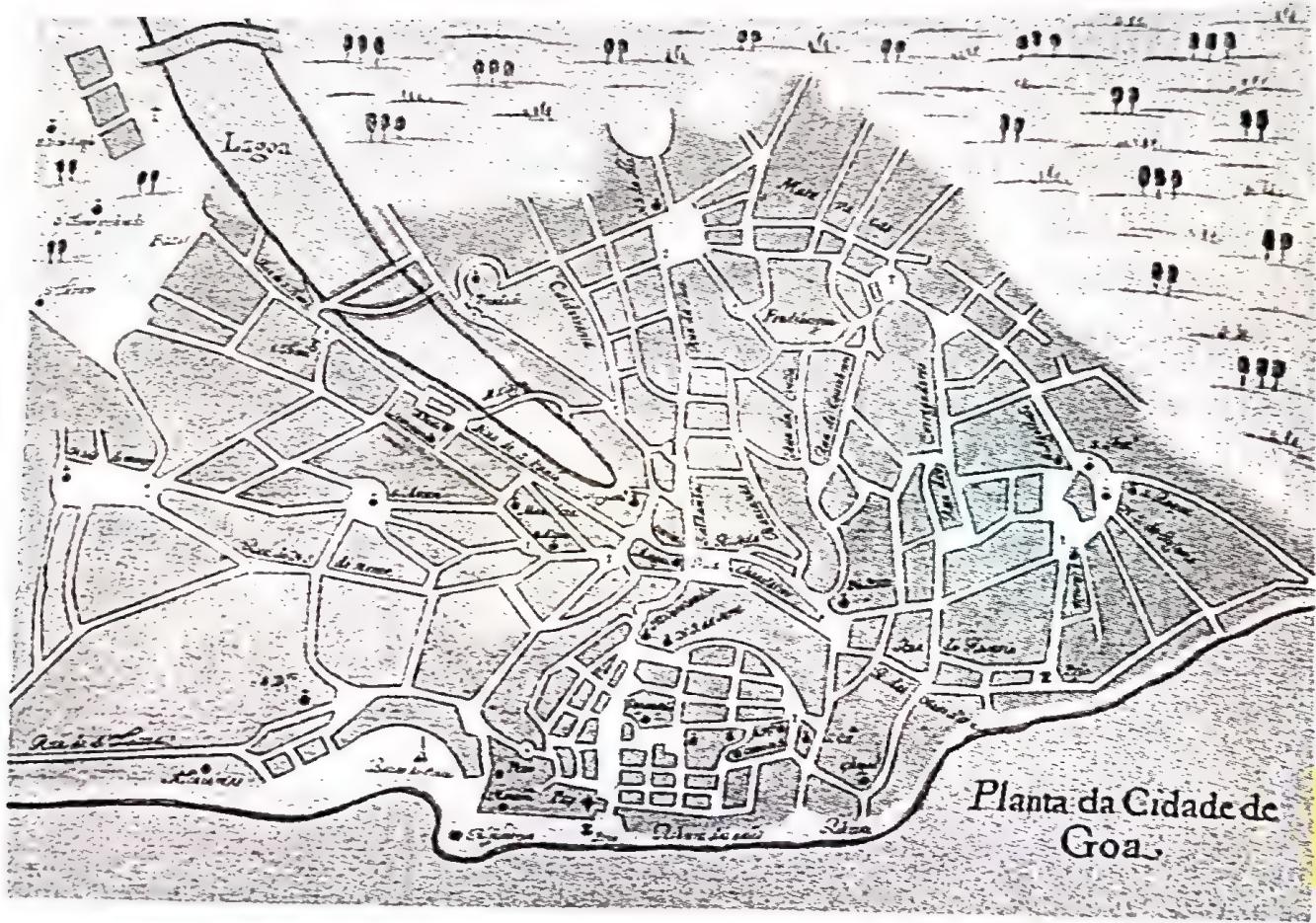
Tensions between the two communities erupted in periodic riots, the most infamous occurring in Lisbon on Easter 1506. It rapidly escalated out of control and developed into a full-scale massacre of 3,000 to 4,000 Cristaos-Novos. Popular hysteria portrayed them as heretics who undermined the prosperity and foundations of ordered Christian society through acts of religious sacrilege such as the desecration of consecrated wafers or religious images in secret synagogues. Believing this would unleash divine wrath and cause earthquakes, plagues, and famines, people enmeshed Cristaos-Novos in outlandish allegations

and conspiracy theories. Doctors, physicians, and apothecaries were accused of seeking revenge upon their Old Christian persecutors.

Portugal's petitions to the pope for the establishment of an Inquisition finally met with success in 1536. For Cristaos-Novos, it marked the failure of nearly four decades of state-sponsored integration efforts and the start of active repression. The first auto-da-fe took place in Lisbon in 1540. Twenty-three people were sentenced.



A fortnight after a general conversion of Portuguese Jews, on July 7, 1497, Vasco da Gama sailed for India. On March 18, 1498, he sighted Calicut on the Malabar coastline. For a while, Portuguese settlements in Cochin and Goa offered the Cristaos-Novos both a refuge and opportunity for trade and economic prosperity. It did not last long; the Inquisition followed them across stormy seas to India's shores.



Seventeenth century map of the City of Goa
(James Ford Bell Library collection, University of Minnesota)



Chapter Four

The Arrival of the Inquisition in Goa

The convergence of several factors and forces from around 1540 was responsible for the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa.

The pre-1560 scenario

The Portuguese Inquisition had been established against a background of fear induced by the threat of growing Ottoman power. The Ottoman capture of Constantinople in 1453 had brought them to Europe's eastern border even as the last Muslim states were being pushed out of Iberia. Twenty years after Granada fell, the Ottomans captured the Holy Land (1516) and Egypt (1517). The mantle of *kalifa*, the leader of the Muslim world, transferred to the Ottoman Sultan. In 1529, Sultan Suleiman's army besieged Vienna. The Austrians withstood the siege, and as summer turned into autumn and winter approached, Suleiman turned back. His armies were back again in 1532. This time a huge Christian army repulsed the Turks. The Ottoman threat ended only in 1683 when its army was defeated on the plains of Central Europe.

Muslims of various nations - Arabs, Moplas, Egyptians, Turks - the Samudri, and the Sultan of Gujarat challenged Portugal's arrival in the Indian Ocean littoral. Goa itself had been wrenched from Muslim-ruled

Bijapur. In 1510, Albuquerque, with the active support and involvement of prominent Goan ganvkars like Mhala Pai of Verna, and Timmaya Naik, a warlord based in neighbouring Honavar, captured the island of Tiswadi. In 1543, Bardes and Salcete were added. Skirmishes and incursions continued through the following years. In 1570, it erupted in open warfare with an alliance of Muslim states that included the Samudri and the Sultans of Bijapur and Bidar. Islamophobia was central in formulating the Estado's policy in the early years.

Added to this was a perceived threat to Portugal's, specifically the king's, economic interests in the Asian trade from Cristaos-Novos merchants. Despite a June 1532 ban on their emigration to 'infidel lands', especially the Ottoman Empire, many used legal and clandestine channels to flee Portugal's toxic hostility and head for Flanders, Italy, the Ottoman Empire, North Africa, and India (Saraiva 2001: 346). Here, they soon integrated into the commercial network connecting Europe to Asia.

The Ottomans

Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, the terminus of the overland Silk Road and conduit for voluminous trade between Europe and Asia, became a popular destination for Iberian conversos. Here, in the fourteenth century, merchants from Venice and Genoa, stirred by Marco Polo's account of the fabulous riches of China and the East, established themselves and took control of the sea route connecting Constantinople to Europe. Flourishing Jewish merchant communities played a significant role as financiers and traders, and in the economic and social life of cities like Aleppo, Baghdad, Cairo, Salonika, Istanbul, and Jerusalem.

The Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II, astonished at the foolishness of the Catholic kings for impoverishing their kingdoms while enriching his, welcomed conversos and allowed full freedom of worship. He extended

generous concessions and tax relief to Iberian immigrants to settle in smaller towns and cities to stimulate economic development throughout his empire. A contemporary French traveller and diplomat wrote that Jews and especially marranos exiled from Spain and Portugal were excellent artisans who, much to the detriment of Christian nations, taught Turks "divers inventions, craftes and engines of warre, as to make artillerie, harquebuses, gunne powder, shot, and other munitions" (Wacks: 192-4). They had also founded a printing press that produced books on various subjects in many languages.

The Jewish and Cristaos-Novos diaspora spread eastwards from the Ottoman Empire. A settlement in Hormuz grew into a prosperous community of merchants and bankers linking Ottoman Jews to Malabar (Ray 2013: 68). In Cochin, an old and economically significant Jewish colony lived in the area controlled by the Cochin Raja. Portugal's policymakers began to fear that the Estado would become a Cristaos-Novos stronghold, and that they would return to Judaism and imperil Portugal's lucrative overseas trade, especially in spices and precious stones.

The mission of David Reubeni (Adler 1908: 29-35)

David Reubeni appeared in Venice in 1523. He claimed to be related to the kings of the lost tribe of Reuben, hence his name Reubeni, an ambassador from the Jews in India, and the commander-in-chief of his brother's army. Venetian Jews helped him to meet the pope. He rode into Rome in February 1524 on a white horse and was received by Pope Clement VII. He proposed a treaty between his State and the Christian world, offering the pope 300,000 soldiers to fight Muslims. The pope recommended him to the Portuguese king.

Reubeni was received by Portugal's John III as an official ambassador in 1525. Some Cristaos-Novos were convinced that he heralded the

coming messiah. When his disciple Diogo Pires, a royal secretary, converted to Judaism and called himself Solomon Molcho, Reubeni was accused of reconverting Cristaos-Novos to Judaism and expelled. Shipwrecked off the Spanish coast, he was arrested and imprisoned by the Spanish Inquisition, but released on the instructions of Emperor Charles V. Another shipwreck off the coast of Provence resulted in his imprisonment for two years. He was released after his Jewish followers paid a ransom, and was back in Venice in November 1530 seeking audiences with kings.

Reubeni and Molcho were imprisoned in 1532. Molcho was burned at the stake while Reubeni was taken to Spain in chains. He died, probably in 1538, perhaps at the stake. His story added to Lisbon's unease about the disquieting Jewish influence in the east.

The Cristaos-Novos in Portugal's economy

The way in which Portuguese Cristaos-Novos gained prominence in international trade was explained to the king in 1619 by Martin Zellorigo, a veteran of 28 years in the Spanish Inquisition. His petition stated that at the time of the general conversion of the Jews, Portuguese society was divided into four divisions: ecclesiastical, *fidalgos*, noblemen, and commoners. Despite the king's proclamation equating them to Old Christians, Cristaos-Novos were placed in a distinct class that resulted in their segregation. Unwelcomed in ecclesiastical or *fidalgo* ranks, their qualifications were rejected for public office, and they were denied other avenues of advancement. This left them little option but to turn to commerce and finance where they soon attained a dominant position. Trade strengthened their overseas connections. Continuing discrimination from official ranks and persecution from the Inquisition drove them to increasingly seek sanctuary among the diaspora. Portuguese Cristaos-Novos soon gained prominent roles in international trade (Saraiva 2001: 142).

The king was acutely aware of the contribution of Cristaos-Novos merchants to the treasury. In a letter (1539) to the pope, he wrote "(New Christians) in my country make up a large proportion of my subjects, far more useful than all the rest, serving me in every manner of transactions, so that my revenues...prospered in their hands..." He added that their emigration to Flanders was depriving him of revenue (Saraiva 2001: 192-93).

The union of Spain and Portugal in 1580 opened up wider horizons to the Portuguese Cristaos-Novos business community. Many moved to Spain to trade in West Indies sugar, American silver, and slaves. As agents for collecting duties and taxes, and with representation all over Europe, they had credit everywhere. Zellorigo elaborated: "In Lisbon and in India nobody can handle the trade in merchandise except persons of this Nation (Cristaos-Novos). Without them, His Majesty will no longer be able to make a go of his Indian possessions..." In 1628, another petitioner urging a repeal of laws oppressive to the Cristaos-Novos stated that it was only their merchants who had financed King Sebastiao's Moroccan campaign (1577). In exchange, they were exempted from the confiscation of their properties by the Inquisition and granted freedom of travel. When the king died, the new king, his brother Inquisitor General Cardinal Henrique promptly reversed the order.

The Rodrigues de Evora family provides an example of Cristaos-Novos enterprise. At the close of the sixteenth century Manuel Rodrigues de Evora, great-grandson of a 1492 convert, set up his business in Antwerp along with his nephew Fernando Ximenez. Of his four sons, two headed the Antwerp branch while the other two remained in Lisbon. All married into prominent and wealthy Cristaos-Novos families. The family leased the lion's share of the pepper and spice trade from the government, controlled supplies of raw sugar to refineries in

Portugal, and had trading establishments in Brazil and Asia. They also imported diamonds from Asia into Antwerp, handled large banking and exchange transactions, and had agencies and representations throughout Europe, Brazil, the Spanish Americas, Africa, and India. The family protected their business interests by closely aligning with the king and ecclesiastical authority. Manuel, though, cautiously chose to remain in Antwerp (Saraiva 2001: 192-93).

The Jewish and Cristaos-Novos presence in India

(Couto 2020)

A tall European in a small boat greeted Vasco da Gama's fleet off Anjediva in 1498. A Pole who spoke Castilian, he had migrated to the Deccan via Granada. On being captured and enslaved, he had converted to Islam and was given a senior appointment in Bijapur's navy. Adil Shah entrusted him with the task of discovering the purpose of da Gama's mission.

Suspected of being a spy, da Gama had him flogged. The captive converted to Christianity and assumed the name Gaspar da Gama. His conversion cemented a shift in loyalty. Gaspar sailed to Lisbon and volunteered valuable information on India to the king. He was assigned missions in India and Brazil, and probably killed in an attack on Calicut in 1510.

Cristaos-Novos migration to Goa intensified during 1530-1550. From Goa, some dispersed to Cochin and Calicut, ports on the Bay of Bengal littoral, Melaka, and further east. Others travelled to Ottoman territories via Hormuz, Basra, Aleppo, and Damascus or Jeddah and Cairo. In Cairo, they joined an Iberian Jewish community that had its origins in the fifteenth century. This group, hoping perhaps to recover their assets in Portugal or help relatives escape from there, formed a major source of interpreters, informers, and couriers for the Portuguese Crown.

Samuel, a native of Cairo, became Albuquerque's interpreter. Isaac of Cairo was a multi-lingual merchant who moved freely within political and commercial circles in Goa and Cochin. In 1537, Governor Nuno da Cunha sent him to Lisbon with information concerning the Ottomans and the death of Gujarat's Sultan Bahadur Shah who had been secretly negotiating with the Ottomans. On March 8, 1539, the king made Isaac the official translator of the city of Diu with an annual retainer of 160,000 reis. In 1543, he undertook a mission on behalf of Governor Martim Afonso de Sousa.

Hormuz, the 'door to India', had a thriving community of Jews and conversos engaged in the Asian trade. Together with Cristaos-Novos, Jews played a central role in the gemstone trade between Egypt and Goa. The network connected Gujarati merchants with those in Pulicat, a premier port on the east coast. Textiles from three major manufacturing centres in India (Gujarat, Bengal, Coromandel) were shipped from here to Melaka and further east. Rubies and pearls from Pegu (Myanmar) and gemstones from Sri Lanka passed through Pulicat to Goa along with diamonds from the Deccan. The streets of either side of the Rua Direita in the City of Goa became a hive of activity for jewel-cutters and polishers from the early years of the sixteenth century. Here, Indian goldsmiths and jewellers worked alongside gem-cutters and merchants from Western Europe.

The value of this trade can be gauged from a report that in 1527 Joao Cruzillam, a Portuguese Cristaos-Novos reportedly on a spying mission on behalf of the king, sailed to the Ottoman Empire via Hormuz with gemstones valued at 70,000-80,000 cruzados. The Nasci family dominated the Europe-Goa gemstone trade from their base in Istanbul through the 1550s. Simao Rodrigues de Evora (1543-1618) traded in diamonds in Antwerp. Alvaro Mendes (Solomon Abenaes) arrived in India c.1545. Trained as a jeweller in Portugal, he is reported to have

owned mines in India and a flourishing trading enterprise. In 1585, Mendes settled in Istanbul with 850,000 ducats acquired mainly from his Indian mining concerns. He became a member of the Sultan's inner circle and was granted the title of Duc of Mytilene by Murad III. He also received a knighthood from Elizabeth I of England for negotiating an alliance between England and the Ottoman Empire against the Hapsburgs.

Portuguese Cristaos-Novos merchants made fortunes in India. Their connections opened doors to foreign courts and gave them access to strategic information which they passed on to the king. Lower rung informants were rewarded with government posts in Goa despite a 1519 royal decree prohibiting such appointments. Many became interpreters to governors, and in fortresses and armadas. Marco Fernandes was involved in the negotiations of 1534-5 that resulted in acquiring Bacaim.

Circa 1553, Joseph Nasci was tasked by the king to obtain information on the reported Ottoman plan to launch a massive naval campaign against Portuguese settlements in India. Coming at a time when the rumours of the imminent imposition of the Inquisition in Goa were rife, Nasci demurred. In 1578, he was denounced before the Inquisition as a double agent inciting the Ottomans to attack Portuguese settlements in India. By then the delicate balance had tipped. In an environment dominated by tenacious anti-Semitism, the Inquisition launched a concerted campaign against the Cristaos-Novos in India. Apart from other offences, they were accused of importing firearms and swords from Europe for sale in India, along with strategic materials like iron and copper. It was, however, a complex situation with Cristaos-Novos economic muscle still controlling arterial sinews of Goa's economy.

The reorganisation of the king's trade (Subrahmanyam 1991; Teddy Sim 2012)

The Portuguese sea-borne empire was tied together by an economic network rather than a political or military one. It consisted of many different ethnic groups, each powerful in its geographic sphere. Trade from north-western India was dominated by Gujarati Vanios and Muslims whose network extended to West Asia, Africa, and Southeast Asia. The capture of Melaka (1511) gave Portugal control of an extensive commercial network connecting India to East Asia. Two main groups of Indian merchants operated here: Gujaratis and kelings (Tamils and Telugus). Initially, Portugal acted in partnership with keling merchants, foremost among them being Nina Chatu. The king's ship sailed annually between Goa, the Coromandel ports, and Melaka. Cargo space was sold to private traders for 12% of the value of their cargo. All made great profits.

Between 1540 and 1570, this pattern developed into a system of concessions by which favoured individuals were given trading monopolies for designated ports. The system generally discriminated against non-Christians and other groups and may have been an attempt to push Cristaos-Novos out of the commercial network. Luis Rodrigues, for instance, who held a near-monopoly in the Cochin-Melaka trade, was one of those prosecuted in the Lisbon auto-da-fe of 1561. His release shortly after makes a case for this argument.

Cuius regio, eius religio

From the 1540s, Europe experienced a trend towards the unification of nations under the banner of religion famously enunciated by the Augsburg (1555) maxim *cuius regio, eius religio* (whose realm, his religion). Between 1545 and 1563, the Council of Trent issued a series of reform decrees to counter the heresies of the Protestant Reformation.

Meanwhile, Portugal developed a strategy to integrate its subjects into a monolithic religious and cultural bloc mirroring that in Portugal by imposing a uniform model of Catholicism throughout its possessions. Conversion became a step in an individual's acculturation and social integration into the dominant community and was simultaneously seen as sealing their fidelity to the king (Paiva 2017).

A series of coercive laws that favoured Christian converts and placed restrictions on others was promulgated in Goa. The drive intensified in the next two decades and reached a peak during Constantino Braganca's term (1558-1561) when an estimated 36,000 were converted. In the early years, these conversions were in name only; cultural integration was still a long way off. Goa's first archbishop, Gaspar Leao, concerned at the growing number of ill-instructed converts, advocated a more gradual and sincere form of conversion.

The Inquisition's role began after conversion. Given the task of ensuring the "purity of the faith", it played a prominent role in the surveillance and repression of religious dissidence (Paivia 2017). In effect, its role was limited to converts, except in cases where non-Christians hindered its operations.

The situation before 1560

Prior to the arrival of the inquisitors, heretical matters were dealt with by the ecclesiastical court. The first known case took place in 1539. In 1543, the Cristaos-Novos surgeon Jeronimo Dias was burnt for Judaism. In 1558, a Brahman, convicted of conducting a pagan festival, was exiled and sentenced to the galleys. His estate was confiscated. The lack of clarity in the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court in investigating heresy made it clumsy and inefficient. The messy, expensive, and long-drawn-out case against 20 Cristaos-Novos arrested in 1557 made this abundantly clear (Chapter 5). It hastened Portugal's

decision to concentrate authority within a single court in India with experienced inquisitors qualified in theological and judicial matters.

Implementation

The Portuguese Inquisition had come into being mainly through the efforts of Inquisitor General Henrique (Paiva 2017). Appointed in 1539 at the age of 28, he remained Inquisitor General until 1579. He succeeded his brother as king in 1578. Henrique built the Inquisition into an organisation with financial and operational autonomy within Portugal and independent of Rome before extending its centralized role of surveillance to Portugal's overseas territories.

Henrique had been receiving reports of the growing influence of Cristaos-Novos in Kerala and Goa and their heretical (Nestorian, Jewish) behaviour. The presence of Muslims in and around the Portuguese sphere of interest was a compounding factor. In 1552, the Jesuits Kaspar Berze and Belchior Barreto highlighted the danger of Lutheran heresies from mercenaries serving as bombardiers in the armadas in Hormuz and Bocaim. They asked for a ban on travel to India by "Flemish, English, Germans and French, as we know of many who associate with the Moors and others infected with Lutheranism" (Paiva 2017).

The first decision to establish an Inquisition in India was taken in 1554. The order for establishing it in Goa and later Cochin contained operational instructions, procedural details, and specified the involvement of the local bishop in all denunciations, arrests, sentences, and appeals, and the use of the resources of the ecclesiastical justice system, its prisons, and bailiffs. These orders reached India by December 1555 but were not implemented for various reasons.

By the time the first inquisitors, Aleixo Falcao and Francisco Botelho, sailed with Archbishop Gaspar Leao for India, the vessel carrying the 20 Cristaos-Novos to Lisbon had left Goa. The inquisitors arrived in Goa in December 1560 with Henrique's order dated March 2, 1560.

In the inventory of 1774, there is a book of reconciliations made by Inquisitor Falcao in Cochin and other parts of the south in 1561-62. Clearly, he was in a great hurry.

The inquisitors came with clear guidelines on how to operate. They were to first select suitable persons for various functions, use the archbishop's prison (*aljube*) or some houses to detain prisoners, and begin operations in Goa and Cochin. Edicts were to be read out from the Cathedral, and four months grace given for people to come forward. Those who did were not to be punished but given spiritual penances. Two books with numbered and initialled pages were to be maintained, one for denunciations and the other for appresentados. Denunciations were to be made in the presence of the archbishop or his representative. An arrest warrant was to be signed by both the inquisitor and the archbishop. Care was to be exercised in the case of persons of high rank. Cristaos-Novos were to be proceeded against only in cases dating after June 10, 1540. An arrested heretic's property was to be inventoried and kept in safekeeping. If convicted, the property was to be confiscated by the State treasury. A convert fallen into heresy was to be instructed in the faith before his abjuration. No executions were to take place without Lisbon's approval. The archbishop and inquisitor were authorised to commute sentences. All officials were to take the oath of secrecy. All proceedings were to be kept secret.

First steps

Henrique was informed in December 1562 that the Inquisition was "very well received, thanks be to God" (Paiva 2017). The first formal auto-da-fe was celebrated that year. In the first four decades 1,502 processes were completed (1561-70: 271; 1571-80: 430; 1581-90: 284; 1591-1600: 517). The largest numbers were convicted for crimes related to Islam, double that for Judaism. It is only from the beginning of the seventeenth century that the focus shifted to converts.

Francis Xavier's role

Francis Xavier has wrongly, even mischievously, been credited with playing an instrumental role in establishing the Inquisition. He had arrived in Goa in 1542 and travelled further east after spending only a short time there. In 1546, he wrote to the king from the Moluccas “The second necessity for the Christians is that your majesty establish the Holy Inquisition, because there are many who live according to the Jewish law, and according to the Mahomedan sect, without any fear of God or shame of the world” (Priolkar 1961: 23). Such persons, Xavier added, had “spread throughout all the fortresses” (Paiva 2017).

Xavier died in 1552. He was just one of the many who requested the king to send the Inquisition to Asia. His objective was specifically directed at curtailing Jewish and Muslim influences, and not at local Indians. Miguel Vaz, the vicar-general, and the Jesuit Nicolao Lancilotto had made similar requests in 1543 and 1545 respectively. Berze had also warned that Hormuz had become a “Babylon” suffused in bestial and lustful behaviour, where Christians could not be separated from Arabs, Turks, Jews, and pagans (Paiva 2017). Portugal’s thrust into the East was in danger of being swamped by powerful influences which only the Inquisition was seen as having the proven ability to counter.

The decision to send the Inquisition to Goa was a long drawn out and complicated process that took many years to implement. By the time it reached Goa, Xavier had been dead for eight years.





**The samara and carocha with painted devils
and fire worn by a condemned woman**



Chapter Five

Lisbon's auto-da-fe of 1561

Lisbon's Inquisition celebrated an auto-da-fe which culminated at the city's waterfront on March 16, 1561. Among the sentenced were Cristaos-Novos from Cochin and Goa, some of whom had fled Portugal's toxic anti-Cristaos-Novos atmosphere earlier in their lives. For one septuagenarian, Leonor Caldeira, it ended there in engulfing flames.

The Cristaos-Novos merchants of Cochin (de Sousa 2019; Malekandathil 2001; da Silva 2018; ANTT; Saraiva 2001: 347- 349)

On March 1, 1507, Manuel revoked a ban on Cristaos-Novos travelling out of Portugal declaring they should be treated on par with Old Christians in every matter. Many utilised the opportunity to migrate to India. By 1529, several Iberian converso families had settled in Cochin. The flow of migrants increased as famine and severe economic crisis overtook Portugal in 1530-31 and generated hostility against the Cristaos-Novos. Emigration, banned in 1532, intensified after the founding of Lisbon's Inquisition in 1536.

The Portuguese settlement in Cochin was small, confined to the lower town (Fort Cochin). A sizeable Jewish population lived in Mattancherry three kilometres away, ruled by the Cochin raja. This

community was composed of 'white' or pardesi (foreign) Jews of Spanish, Syrian, and Ottoman origin, and 'black' or native (Malabar) Jews. Much to the chagrin of the Portuguese clergy, curious Cristaos-Novos settlers began to increasingly interact with them, hoping to learn about the Jewish way of life and religious observances. It soon led to a revival of Jewish practices among the Cristaos-Novos.

The roots of Cochin's Malabari Jews date to the early centuries of the Common Era. They had developed strong contacts with the spice-growing hinterland and political links with the ruling class. 'White' Jews operated in a widespread international commercial network. The Geniza papers (Cairo) reveal a flourishing Jewish and Arab trading network linking Malabar to Baghdad and Egypt some centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese.

Cochin's Cristaos-Novos developed close and complementary relations with this Jewish community as its commercial network expanded across the Indian Ocean littoral. Old Christians resented this Cristaos-Novos dominance of overseas trade. It converged with Portugal's concerns for the security of the Estado's maritime trade, and the Church's fears that the growing influence of Judaism would strike at the very foundation of Christianity. Uneasy with these developments, increasing numbers of Cristaos-Novos quietly left Goa and Cochin for other places in India, the Ottoman Empire, Hormuz, Cairo, and Basra between 1540 and 1550.



On the feast of Corpus Christi on April 30, 1557, pieces of paper with blasphemous and provocative words scribbled on them were found in the alms box of Cochin's Church of Sao Domingos. Bishop Belchior Carneiro commissioned an investigation. In his sermons, the Jesuit Provincial Goncalo Silveira stirred public opinion against the Jewish

connections of the Cristaos-Novos. About 20 of them were arrested and, in 1558, sent to the ecclesiastical prison in Goa for "matters of faith". Silveira, a bloodhound on the trail, sailed on the same ship to Goa, where more Cristaos-Novos were arrested. Twenty, 10 each from Cochin and Goa, were finally sent to Lisbon where they were incarcerated on December 8, 1560.

The names of at least 16 are known. All were found guilty of Judaism and heresy. Eighteen were sentenced at the March 16, 1561 auto-da-fe, and the other two on July 13. All except Leonor Caldeira, the oldest of the group, abjured *em forma* (formally). They were sentenced to prison, to wear the penitential habit, perform spiritual penances, and undergo instruction in the Catholic religion. Their wealth was confiscated. Leonor was condemned to a fiery end.

Leonor Caldeira and her circle

Leonor Caldeira, a Castilian, moved to Portugal when the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492. She may have become a Christian in Lisbon during the mass conversions of 1497. She married Diogo Nunes, a Cristaos-Novos, who died before Leonor sailed for Goa in 1535 with her children, Clara, Ana, and Simao. She moved to Cochin that same year.

Leonor opened a trading house selling fabrics, a rice warehouse in Mattancherry, and a money-lending business. Her process lists her profession as a confectioner. She soon attained a high social status due to her knowledge of Jewish rituals and arranged the marriages of her daughters to wealthy merchants. Clara, who assisted in her business, married Luis Rodrigues, a merchant trading with China. Simao Nunes, her son, traded in coral, camphor, and other goods.

Leonor's process consists of 280 sheets (ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-IL-28-7296). She was accused of visiting synagogues and Jewish homes in Mattancherry, partaking of Jewish foods, participating in

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Presu da India

ANTT:PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/05265

Cochin

Leonor Calderia, Simao Nunes (son), Ines Lopes
(daughter-in-law), Luis Rodrigues (son-in-law)

Jacome Olivares

Manuel Rodrigues, Maria Rodrigues (wife)

Goa

Esteavo Lopes, Guiomar Oliveria (wife)
Lopo Soares, Leonor Fernandes (wife), Diogo
(son), Clara Lopes (daughter-in-law)

Ana Oliveira

Isabel Dias

Gracia Lopes

Ala Gestua Lopes xpa
Alou que veyu veyu fa
m dia: Da dia de dega

ANTT:PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/00360

Jewish festivals, and making dolls with labels containing blasphemous references to Jesus. Leonor's lawyer argued that the evidence leading to her arrest was invalid as the diocese of Goa was awaiting the appointment of an archbishop, and the local vicar had no authority to investigate heresy. Besides, some investigators, being below the age of 40 years, were not qualified to investigate cases of heresy. It was of little avail. Leonor was relaxed to secular justice. Seven officials signed the document.

Leonor's son-in-law Luis had landed in Cochin in 1529. He built an extensive commercial network, buying and selling ships, and transporting goods and merchants. His network covered ports from Cochin to China, and exercised a near-monopoly of the Cochin-Melaka route. Luis and Clara had two daughters, Beatriz and Leonor.

Luis made frequent visits to Mattancherry, selling products from Bengal, Ceylon, and Melaka, as well as guns and munitions. In turn, he bought local produce for export. Among the most prominent leaders of Cochin's converso community, his social circle included Jewish and Cristaos-Novos merchants. Chief among them was Jacome Olivares, son of Antonio Olivares (an Old Christian nobleman) and Violante Lopes (a Cristaos-Novos). Born in Setubal, Jacome travelled to India in 1540. His commercial activity centred on Melaka and the China trade. He sold Chinese silks, pitch, porcelain, china wood, and slaves.

The growing economic and political clout of Luis and Jacome brought them into direct conflict with their Old Christian merchant rivals. Both were known to have made substantial donations for the construction of Cochin's synagogue. Luis was known to have helped poor Jews, and taking on his sea voyages a Jewish cook to prepare his meals. They were arrested. Denunciations made by 34 citizens (27 Christians and seven Cristaos-Novos) were used in their trials.

The arrests damaged Cochin's trade severely as Jewish and Cristaos-Novos merchants discreetly left for other regions.

Goa's Cristaos-Novos

Goa's Cristaos-Novos community suffered a similar fate. Esteavo Lopes, Knight of the Royal Crown and ex-boy of His Master's Chamber, had come from Arronches in Portugal where his father, Manuel, had been a successful merchant.

Diogo Soares, aged 51, was married to Leonor Fernandes. His son, Lopo, was married to Clara. All four participated in the 1561 auto-da-fe. About 1545, his house had been inspected by the vicar-general Miguel Vaz, the ecclesiastical bailiff, and judge on suspicion that it contained a synagogue. This was found to be untrue and an apology was tendered. The matter, however, did not end there. He was subsequently accused of adopting a Jewish kosher diet and observing the Sabbath.

Diogo's lawyer defended him strenuously in Goa. Claiming that Silveira had usurped the powers of an inquisitor without authorization, he accused him of resorting to personal hatred and intimidating persons to come forward with denunciations or face severe censure and excommunication. Inevitably, said the lawyer, such testimony came from "notorious enemies and slaves" (Paiva 2017).

Release

This case illustrates how heresy laws were used to eliminate Cristaos-Novos merchants from the highly lucrative Asian trade. At least six of the 20 penitents had their sentences commuted soon after the auto-da-fe. Luis Rodrigues, Jacome Olivares, and Manuel Rodrigues and his wife Maria, were released on July 10, 1561. Jacome, perhaps others too, eventually reached Istanbul.

Portugal's loss was the Ottoman Sultan's gain.

The final act of an auto-da-fe at Lisbon's waterfront

An eighteenth century etching brings alive the charged atmosphere at the burning ground.

The ceremony, celebrated in the centre of the city with dominating State buildings looming in the background, awes, shocks, and intimidates onlookers. It projects the Inquisition's power to correct and punish.

In the foreground are larger-than-life portraits of the convicts. On the left, a relapse, clothed in a samara and carocha, weeps. To his left, one convicted of a lesser crime looks away in a sanbenito with a rosary in one hand and a lighted taper in the other. Barefooted and bareheaded, he assumes the pose of a humbled penitent. On the right is one on a tighter leash wearing the fogo revolto. His right hand on his breast and inclined head demonstrates his acceptance of the Inquisition's justice and mercy.

Behind, the scene is one of determined activity. A monk pushes a crucifix before a relapse being nudged to the pyre, urging him to save his soul even as his last earthly moments tick away. The bones of one who escaped the ordeal are carried in a box to the unlit pyre. Beside it a man stokes lighted embers in a large urn. People gather around and watch one burning on an adjacent pyre. There is a large space between him and the crowd; he dies alone, rejected and condemned.

The life of the city comes to a halt to watch, as do the ships in the harbour. When they unfurl their sails, they will carry the message far and wide to other parts of the world.







Linschoten's depiction of sixteenth century Rua Direita



Chapter Six

The Changing World of Goa's Inquisitors



Twenty-odd years after the first inquisitors stepped on Goa's shores, a Dutchman, "Being young, (and living idlelye) in my native Countrie... found my mind so addicted to see and travaile into strange Countries... took leave of my Parents...and imbarked my selfe in a ship..." (Linschoten 1885: 2). It took that young man, John Huyghen Van Linschoten, to Lisbon, and from there to India and farther east. Linschoten's journal gives us an insight into the world the first inquisitors encountered.

Linschoten sailed from Lisbon in April 1583. King Henrique, the former Inquisitor General, had died in 1580, and Portugal was now united with Spain. Linschoten's fleet rounded the Cape of Good Hope and anchored off Mozambique, where Portugal had forts in Sofala and Quiloa, for provisioning. Sailing again on August 20, they passed the Comoro Islands, Melinde on the Kenyan coast, and the island of Socotra south of Yemen before turning east. Swimming sea snakes, the size of great eels, signalled they were nearing the Indian coast. They landed in Goa on September 20.

Mombasa was Portugal's main base in East Africa. To its north lay Abex (Ethiopia), the country of the mythical Christian king, Prester

John. A fort at Hormuz guarded the mouth of the Persian Gulf and the overland route to Europe via Iraq and Syria. Diu, Daman, and the Provincia do Norte lay north of Goa on the west coast. South of it, the Portuguese had forts or factories (trading establishments) at Honavar, Barcelore (Kundapur), Mangalore, Cananore, Cochin, and Quilon. Ceylon was partly occupied. East coast settlements were located at Nagapattinam, Sao Thome (Mylapore), Masulipatam, and Bengal. Beyond India, the Portuguese had a presence in Pegu (Myanmar), Sian (Thailand), Malacca, Macau, and the Moluccas.

These settlements comprised the geographical world of Goa's Inquisition. They were held together by commercial ties, the absence of Asian rivals on land and European on the seas, and an enormous quantity of pluck and luck. The arrival of the inquisitors heralded the strengthening of the recently introduced policy, the rigor de misericordia (application of moral force), intended to glue these regions together under a common religious, cultural, and social ethic.

Goa's precarious security

Goa's border with Bijapur was just a few kilometres east of the capital. Bijapur's court attracted Arabs, Turks, Rumes, and Muslims from other regions. It had made repeated unsuccessful forays to reclaim Goa. The year 1570 saw the beginning of a decade-long war with Bijapur in alliance with other Muslim States.

Goa's defences depended on "an olde ruinous Castle, wherein lyeth two or three Iron peeces, and one man that in the night time keepeth the watch" sited on Bardes at the mouth of the river (Reis Magus). A wall was being constructed as a defensive measure, but it was far from complete. Goa proper had little by way of agriculture. Most of its food came from Salcete, Bardes, the Provincia do Norte, Kanara, and other places. Its resident "Indians, Decanijns, and other Moores and heathens" regularly crossed over to the mainland to buy

provisions through five poorly guarded passes: Benesterim on the south leading to Salcete, Tebe do Passo on the east, Daugi, Norwa, and Panjim (Linschoten 1885: 180-81). Drinking water, “verie good to drinke”, was brought from Banganim, some distance from the city, by slaves in pots and sold in the town. Liquor distilled from palm trees was exported in great quantities (Lockyer 1711: 266).

People

Goa's bustling markets attracted a bewildering world of people of diverse racial, religious, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds: merchants and slaves from Asia (Arabia, Armenia, Persia, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, Java, Moluccas, China), Africa (Mozambique, Ethiopia), and other parts of India (Cambay, Bengal); people of all castes and religions (heathens, Muslims, Jews, Armenians, Gujaratis, Vanios, Brahmans). While everyone was allowed to practise their “several customs and superstitions in religion” without constraint indoors, the public practice of “superstitious and devilish inventions” was forbidden so as not to tempt new converts into relapsing. Relapsing converts were subject to prosecution by the Inquisition (Linschoten 1864: 175, 181, 222).

The Estado's other great city was Portuguese-administered Cochin, “almost as great as Goa.” It was a rich town with many well-built houses and a large daily market. Brahmans, Muslims, and Jews lived here according to their own laws and traditions, assisting the king and his Nair nobility. Brahmans were highest in rank among the gentio elite. Priests and ministers of the temples, they also counselled kings and were very subtle in writing and accounts. Some sold spices and medicines in Goa and other parts of the coast. They cremated their dead and practised sati.

Gujaratis conducted a flourishing trade in grain, cotton, linen, indigo, and especially in precious stones in Goa. Expert in accounting,

they surpassed all others in trade and commerce. Merchants from other regions imported food and other necessities from the Deccan, Karnataka, Cambay, and Red Sea ports and sold all sorts of cloth, porcelain, and other commodities from Cambay, China, Bengal, and other places. Many were very accomplished artisans working with gold and silver.

Linschoten termed native Canarims and Corumijns the "most contemptible, and miserablest (people) of (all) India." They made a meagre living by tilling the land, tapping palm trees, and as fishermen, carpenters, washermen, cobblers, barbers, and other lowly labour-intensive professions. They were, for the most part, Christian.

Many Arabs and Africans from Ethiopia and Mozambique lived in Goa. Most African men and women were shipped to India to be sold as slaves like "beastes". The demand for them was great in Goa and other parts of India.

Religion

To Linschoten, the many gentio gods worshipped in temples were "cut (and formed) most ugly, and like monstrous Devils." The miracles people believed they performed, Linschoten believed, were really the work of the devil who was greatly honoured with offerings, both to maintain his friendship and deter him from hurting them. Gentios worshipped the sun, moon, and snakes, and read fortunes in the sighting of animals and birds (crows were particularly potent harbingers of bad luck). Itinerant holy men, witches, and soothsayers participated in numerous gentile feasts accompanied by loud music. New converts still participated in these pre-Christian traditions "which in part are permitted them, and is done to draw the other heathens (to be Christianised), as also otherwise they would hardly be persuaded to continue in the Christian faith" (Linschoten 1864: 185).

Not long after Linschoten's book was published, this gentler approach hardened, and such practices attracted the Inquisition's attention.

1560-1600: Moors and Jews

The first social group Linschoten describes are Muslims and Jews. The former surrounded Goa on land and sea; the latter were intimately woven into the commercial network stretching from northern Europe dominated by Protestants, through North Africa and the Ottoman Empire dominated by Muslims, to India and East Asia. Linschoten observed that Muslims who lived alongside the Portuguese and had business dealings with them, were secretly their most deadly enemies, and greatly hindered conversions to Christianity (Linschoten 1864: 288).

The open practice of Islam and Judaism was banned. While Muslims and Jews were not prosecuted by the Inquisition unless they hindered its operations or enticed Christians from their faith, Christians were investigated for Islamism and crimes related to Judaism.

1601-1663: the Dutch

By the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had forts and small settlements in Mozambique, Mombasa, Bandar Abbas, Hormuz, Muscat, Diu, Provncia do Norte, Chaul, Goa (Ilhas, Salcete, Bardes), Kanara (Honavar, Kundapur, Mangalore), Malabar (Cannanore, Cochin, Quilon), Tuticorin, Nagapattinam, Sao Thome, Pulicat, Masulipatnam, Hughli, Malacca, Banda Islands, Moluccas, and Macau. Surrounded by local powers - sometimes friendly, sometimes not - these outposts were connected and woven into some semblance of a Portuguese empire by a strong naval presence, a limited military capability, Catholicism, and a Lusitanian culture mostly restricted to the socially privileged.

The publication of Linschoten's book in 1595 spurred Dutch interest in the Asian trade. In February 1603, the Dutch East India Company

(founded in 1602) seized a Portuguese carrack, the Santa Catarina. The value of its cargo doubled the Company's capital and fuelled its ambitions. That year the Dutch blockaded Goa. Further blockades followed in 1604, 1606, and 1610. In 1619, the Dutch captured Batavia (Jakarta), and between 1638 and 1639, fought a series of naval battles off Goa. Portugal's fortresses were isolated, poorly maintained, and under-manned. The Dutch made four unsuccessful attempts to take Macau. Goa held but other possessions fell one by one: Masulipatnam (1610), Bandar Abbas (1615), Pulicat (1619), Banda Islands and Moluccas (1621), Hormuz (1622), Hughli (1632), Malacca (1641), Muscat (1650), Nagapattinam (1657), Tuticorin and Ceylon (1658), Mangalore, Kundapur, and Honavar (1652-54), Cochin, Quilon, and Cannanore (1661-1663), Sao Thome (1662), Chittagong (1666), Mombasa (1698), Provicia do Norte, and Chaul (1740). The reasons were many, the victors were different.

1667-1740: the Marathas (Pissulenkar 1975)

Two major powers dominated the Deccan and Konkan regions in the second half of the seventeenth century: the Mughals and Marathas. The Mughals controlled much of Khandesh and northern Konkan; the Marathas were concentrated in the southern ghats, and central and coastal Konkan. The Estado maintained a strategic distance between these powerful neighbours, and worked secretly to weaken them.

Aurangzeb's death in 1707 altered this balance of power. The Mughal empire progressively weakened and declined as the Marathas consolidated and expanded. The Estado came under increasing threat during the Portuguese-Maratha wars, which began in the 1660s and continued until the 1740s.

The first mention of Shivaji in Goan Government reports (May 15, 1658) refers to him as a rebel captain in northern Bijapur's forces. The

following year, Shivaji captured territories near Bacaim and Chaul. It was a prelude of what was to come. Shivaji's arrival in Vengurla in 1663, just 50 km from the northern border sent alarm bells ringing and a flurry of diplomatic activity. In November 1667, he entered Bardes in pursuit of troublesome local chieftains. Several Christians including three padres were killed. He returned with captives and cattle, but left behind a few hundred men to facilitate a return. They were captured. Rumours of a repeat invasion the following year raised tensions in Goa. In 1675, Shivaji's forces captured Ponda and Karwar, and in 1677, encircled Daman and threatened Salsette (Provincia do Norte).

Goa began repairing its old forts and building new ones. Taxes were imposed on the ganvkaris and local militia raised. They proved useless in battle, their formations brittle and fragile. As the Estado began preparations for full-scale war, news came of Shivaji's death. By then his conquests bordered a considerable part of the Provincia do Norte.

The Estado heaved a sigh of relief. Not for long. If Shivaji had sent a shiver down Goa's spine, his son and successor Sambaji brought her shuddering to her knees. He besieged Chaul in August 1683, and on the night of November 24, a Maratha advance party captured the island of Jua. The counter-attack on the following day turned into a rout with the injured viceroy barely escaping with his life. The Marathas burnt Jua's church and prepared to cross the narrow stretch of water separating them from the capital. Abandoning all hope of military resistance, the viceroy entrusted Goa's defence to Xavier by placing his baton of office in the saint's withered hands. That night a Mughal army advanced on Sambaji's flank. The Marathas abandoned Jua.

The attacks continued. Tivim and Chapora forts in Bardes were captured, and in Salcete, the fort of Rachol and Margao City were taken with rape and plunder. The Maratha army remained for about a month

until Shah Alam's Mughal army appeared and a truce negotiated. The Marathas were to return in force again in the following century.

With Sambaji's death in 1689, activity shifted increasingly to the Província do Norte. The Angria, a Maratha chieftain on the Konkan coast north of Goa, forced Portuguese ships sailing to Bacaim to pay for safe passage. Fighting between the Angrias and the Portuguese erupted in 1713, 1714, 1717, and 1721. Balaji Baji Rao's appointment as peshwa in April 1720 saw Maratha relations with the Estado assuming an increasingly aggressive overtone.

Attacks on the Província do Norte (Bacaim: 1723, 1725; Daman: 1728; Thane: 1730) intensified and culminated in a full-scale invasion in April 1737. One by one, the forts of Thane, Mahim, Tarapor, Sirigao, Danu, Asserim, Versava, and Bandora were captured. By the following year, the Marathas had full control of Salsette and the islands of Caranja and Elephanta, east of Bombay.

Nadir Shah's capture of Delhi in February 1739 removed the Mughals from the equation. Maratha attacks intensified on several fronts. Supplies of food, men, money, and ammunition ran out in the Província do Norte. Bacaim capitulated after a three-month siege on May 23, 1739, Chaul was taken in April 1740, and in Goa proper, Maratha cavalry rode into the centre of Margao.

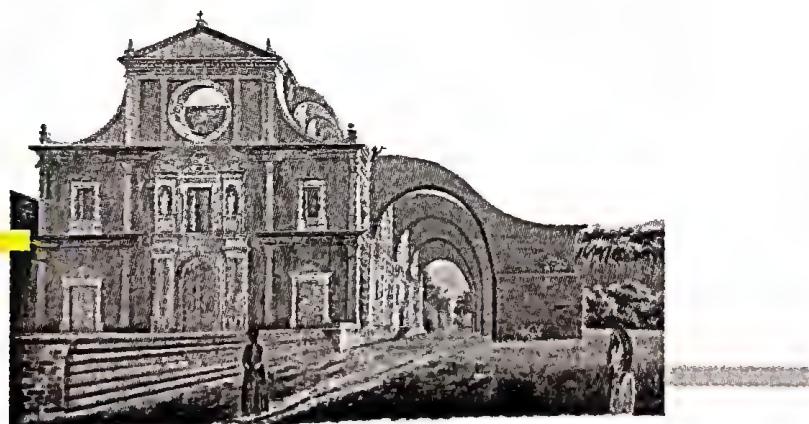
Taking advantage of Goa's precarious defences, the Bhonsle (a Maratha chieftain) attacked Bardes on March 5, 1739. Within a year, except for the forts of Aguada and Reis Magus, Bardes was occupied. In June 1741, a new viceroy commanding a large contingent of newly arrived troops with technologically superior artillery retook Bardes. Conflicts with the Bhonsles and other Maratha chieftains broke out intermittently through 1742-1746. By then, Goa had captured the Bhonsle's border forts.

In January 1761, the Marathas suffered a crushing defeat at Panipat. It relieved pressure on Goa and allowed it to incorporate the Conquistas Nova (New Conquests) into its territory: Ponda (1763), Nagar Haveli (1780), Bhatagram and Satari (1781), part of Pernem (1783), and the rest in (1788).

1763-1799: the Nawabs of Mysore

In 1763, Haidar Ali extended his conquest to Goa's borders. Kanara's large emigrant Christian Goan population now became his subjects. Until the death of his son and successor Tipu Sultan on the battlefield of Srirangapatna on May 4, 1799, Goa experienced regular and periodic crises in its relations with its powerful southern neighbour. Tensions rose to alarming proportions when Kanara's Christians were taken captive to Srirangapatna in 1784 and Tipu's forces approached Goa's borders. Tipu's hand was suspected in the 1787 failed coup by priests and a part of the army in Bardes. In 1792, their forces confronted each other at Karwar (Piro).

Goa justifiably suspected Tipu had an eye on Goa's port as a logistic base in his grand strategy to ally with France in ousting Britain from India. For the inquisitors, the powerful neighbouring State created by the Nawabs of Mysore posed not just a danger to Goa's security, but also to its very soul.



The Jesuit College of St Paul's, Old Goa
(The British Library Board)

	1561-1623	%	1650-1676	%	1685-1736	%	1741-1774	%
North	422	12	180	16	2,513	71	23	2
Goa	2,911	85	848	74	910	26	1,334	95
Others	111	3	123	11	121	3	42	3
	3,444		1,151		3,544		1,399	
Goa								
<i>Bardes</i>			465	55	476	52	510	38
<i>Ilhas</i>			243	29	362	40	279	21
<i>Salcete</i>			140	16	72	8	545	41

Region-wise case statistics from auto-da-fe lists

Punishments meted out by ecclesiastical (Bardes, 1760) courts for:

(D'Cruz 2003s)

- adultery with a married African slave: Pedro Rodrigues fined eight xerafins
- usury: Bisulea and Gila Naique fined nine xerafins and three reis
- not attending mass: Sebastiao de Souza fined six xerafins
- spending a night with two Christians Simao and Goncalo Rodrigues: Custam Naique and Govinda Xetti fined two xerafins
- drunkenness: Joao Mendes fined six xerafins
- not attending Mass on days of obligation: Suzana attended catechism lessons at the church for a month



Chapter Seven

Jurisdiction and the Inquisition's Shifting Focus

The administration of justice in Goa was shared between three authorities. Civil courts tried temporal crimes, maintained the prison establishment, and inflicted corporal and pecuniary penalties. The Church punished crimes of a spiritual or ecclesiastical nature. The Inquisition prosecuted heretics and certain cases undermining the king's interests and social norms. The jurisdiction of these three courts sometimes overlapped and was referred to Lisbon for resolution. For instance, in 1587, the inquisitor general insisted that secular justice could not interfere in cases of those who had gone to territories belonging to Gentiles and Moors as only the Inquisition was qualified to judge whether they were apostates or not (BNR: BN, 25.1,003, n.065).

A report of pastoral visits to 22 parishes in Bardes in 1760-1 reveals ecclesiastical courts punished offences mainly relating to adultery, prostitution, and concubinage (D'Cruz 2003: Appendix VI). Others related to drunkenness, usury, minor offences connected with fulfilling religious obligations, and living with non-Catholic relatives. Punishments were generally fines and sometimes a dose of catechism.

The *Tribunal de Relacao das Indias* was created in 1544. With three sitting judges it had jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters in Goa, Daman, Diu, Macau, Timor, and, for a brief period, Mozambique. The large number of civil case files stored in the secreto (1774 Inventory) reveals its collaboration with the inquisitorial court.

The inquisitorial court (Feitler 2008)

Ecclesiastical courts prosecuted heresy before the arrival of the Inquisition. The first inquisitors, therefore, depended on bishops and State officials to assist them. The Inquisition was authorised to sub-delegate its powers to fully qualified deputies. For instance, in Malacca and Macau, bishops carried out the Inquisition's order of 1605 to check the circulation of banned books. When local bishops, taking advantage of distance, tried to assert their autonomy in prosecuting heresy cases, the Inquisition assumed full control around 1610 by appointing members of local religious orders as commissars. Commissars were tasked with making inquiries, giving their personal opinions on cases, reporting crimes, and carrying out arrests. The delegation of powers took place gradually largely due to the difficulty of controlling excesses in the exercise of power. Around 1690, naiques (non-ecclesiastics who served as interpreters) were appointed to keep a check on the local populations.

The Inquisition's shifting territorial focus over three centuries

If the Inquisition's activities were limited to a purely religious field, there should have been a fairly uniform distribution of cases across all regions. This was not so. Statistics show the Inquisition was acutely sensitive to political developments. The initial focus on Goa during the first century shifted to the North as the Maratha offensive intensified. The appointment of naiques in Goa aided this.

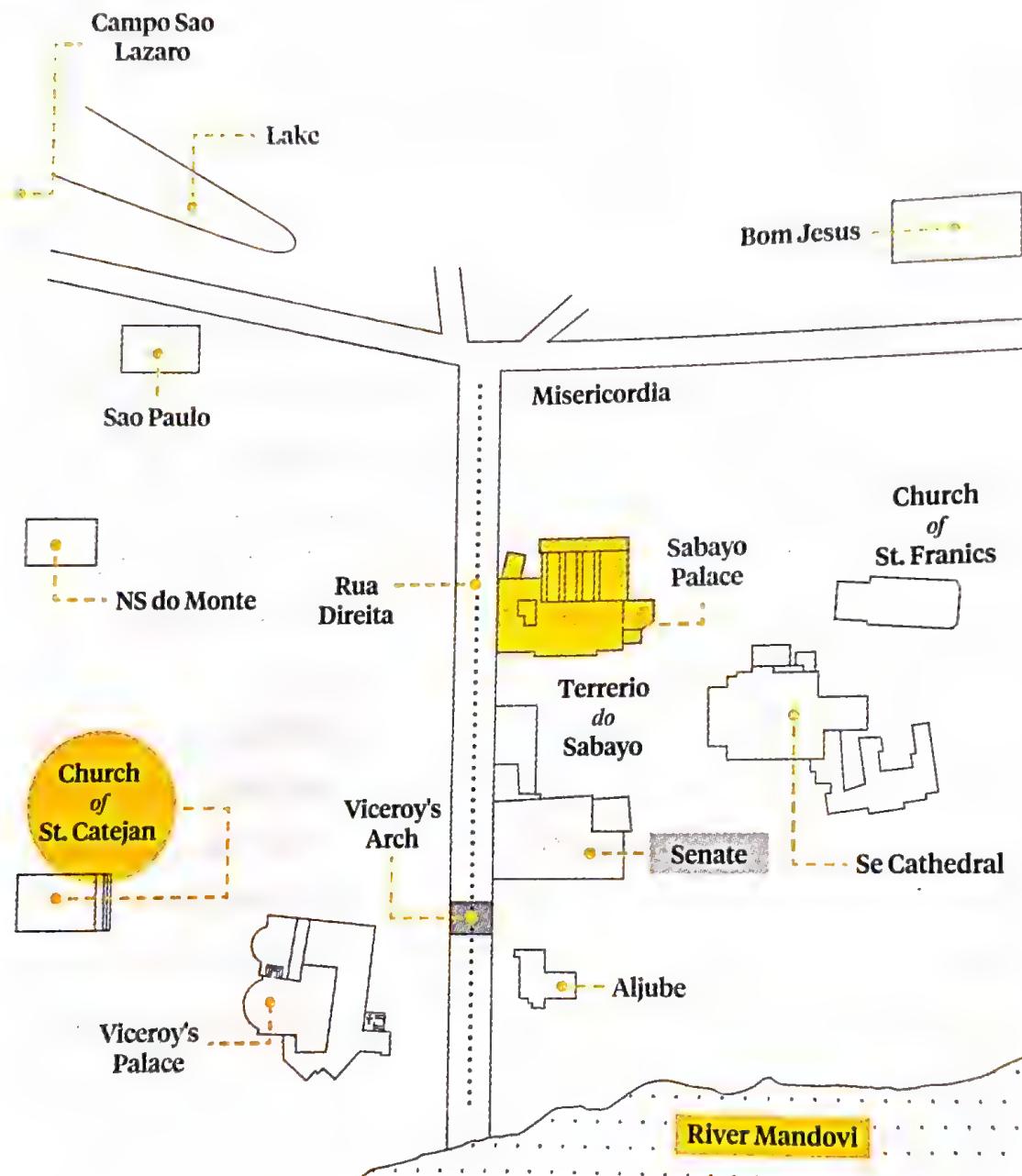
Goa proper returned to its initial primary focus only after the fall of the North in 1739.

Post 1740, the Inquisition began to counter the flow of greater gentile influences from the New Conquests. Among the first gentios from these regions to fall foul of the Inquisition were Vitula Porobu and Goinda Porobu (1754, Brahmans, Torkem, Pernem) for teaching their gentile sect in Christian lands. They were sentenced to the carocha, whipping, and labour in the *polvara* (gunpowder factory).

Clashes

The Inquisition was intimately integrated into the judicial system of the Estado. Both viceroy and archbishop attended its autos-da-fe, often seeking precedence in the seating arrangements. At times, the archbishop expressed his desire to be seated on particular chairs that enhanced his importance (BNR: BN, 25.1.001, n.133, 134, 138). In 1635, the viceroy sat on a canopy-covered platform that was higher than that of his predecessors.

On occasion, disagreements arose between the Inquisition and the viceroy. In 1662, Manogi Sinay was sentenced to six years exile to Mozambique for sending orphans across the border to prevent them from being baptised. A contractor in tobacco, he had important connections, one of them being Ramogy Sinay Cottary from the diplomatic corps (Priolkar 1961: 181 quoting Pissulencar, *Agentes Hindus du Diplomacia Portuguesa na India/ Cottary*, Nova Goa 1933: 35). He petitioned the Viceroy Castro to stop the execution of the sentence. Inquisitor Paulo Freitas complained to the General Council in Lisbon. Their responses of December 19, 1664 and March 31, 1665 advised an accommodation be reached with the viceroy, and to proceed with prudence when both secular and religious interests clashed (BNR: mss 1352115-065-66, 67, 68). Meanwhile, Manogi Sinay died in prison.



Location of the Sabayo Palace



Chapter Eight

Vhoddlem ghor or vhoddilachem ghor?

“The terrible acts of the Inquisition during the early period of its existence had caused terror to be so deeply rooted in the memories of the people that none dared to name the place where it was housed as the house of the Inquisition, but gave it the mysterious appellation “Orlem gor” (the Big House). While we were once passing by the riverside...we were desirous of knowing the situation of the mysterious house which was not in sight, but they did not consent to our pointing our fingers in that direction - and this at a time when the tribunal retained hardly its name!” (Priolkar 1961: 31, quoting F Nery Xavier, *Instruccas do Marquez de Alorna as seu successor*, 3rd ed., Goa 1903: 88). Francklin, an officer of the Bengal army who visited Goa in April 1786, had no qualms in referring to the building as a den of iniquity: “There was formerly an inquisition at this place, but it is now abolished; the building still remains, and by its black outside appears a fit emblem of the cruel and bloody transactions that passed within its walls!” (Francklin 1811: 235). In reality, the black exterior was a result of a decade’s neglect following the first closure of the Inquisition. Exposed laterite quickly turns black in Goa’s heavy monsoon rain.

It was this decaying building, once grand and imposing, that subsequent English narratives projected as the source of a sinister and oppressive shadow that darkened Goa's skies for 252 years. Within the evil silence of the vhoddlem ghor, their narrative goes, lurked the inquisitor, a poisonous spider weaving his silky web ever wider, ever tighter. Eager little spiders, familiars and naiques, the same who viewed Buchanan with questioning gazes, hovered around at his beck and call. Would vhoddilachem ghor have been a more appropriate name for the vhoddlem ghor?

Location

In Portuguese documents, the vhoddlem ghor is called the Sabayo Palace. Signifying *senhor* (lord), the term Sabayo was used for the Sultan of Bijapur (Gaspar da Correa. 1869: 246; Linschoten 1885: 174). The building was Adil Shah's former palace. Viceroys lived in it until 1554, when Viceroy Pedro Mascarenhas, finding difficulty in climbing its stairs, shifted his residence to the Palace of the Viceroys.

A 1775 city map drawn by Antas Machado locates the Sabayo Palace on the south side of the great square, the Terreiro do Sabayo. It faced north towards the east-west flowing Mandovi River. To its west stood the central structure of ecclesiastical power, the Se Cathedral, their corners almost touching each other. Opposite it was the old Senate House, and on the east, the Rua Direita, the main road that led from the wharf past the Palace of Viceroys and under the Arch of the Viceroys. Between the Sabayo Palace and the Rua Direita was a site marked Leilao on the 1634 building plan, the place where slaves and confiscated goods were regularly auctioned.

The location of the Sabayo Palace alongside the premier buildings of State and Church was not just symbolic, but also functional.

The building

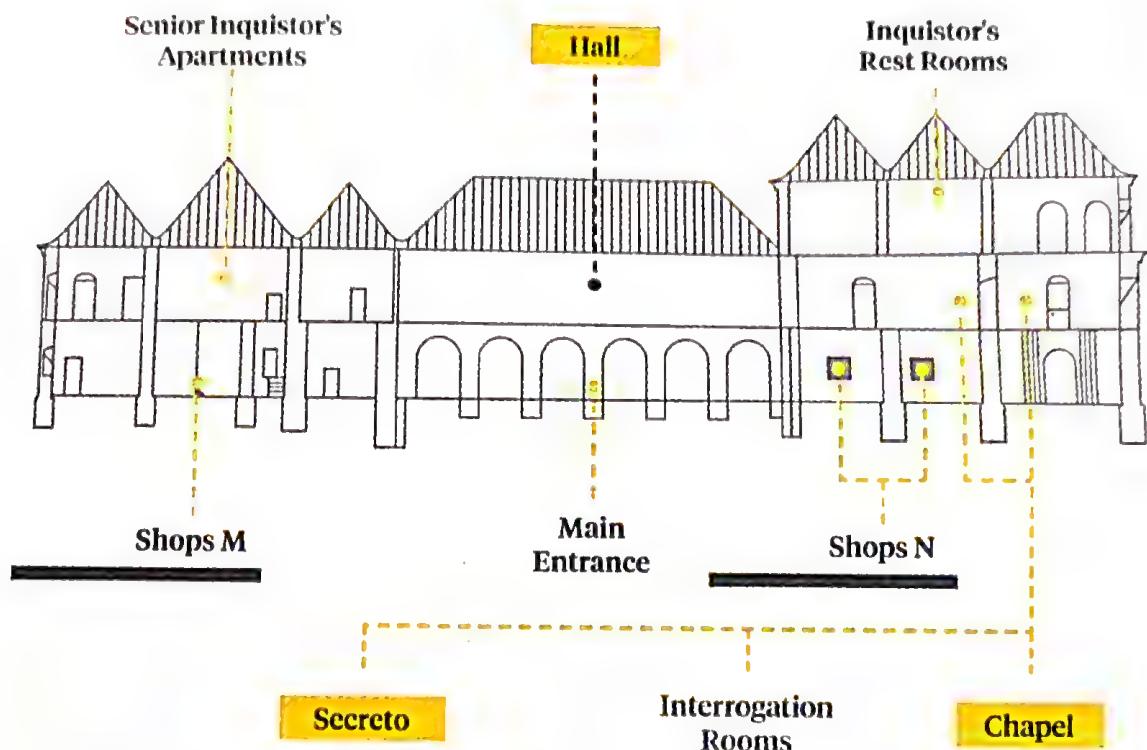
Described by Dellow as extensive and magnificent (Dellow 1688: 17), the Sabayo Palace consisted of two main functional areas integrated into one building: the prison, and the administrative area which included residential and commercial spaces. The prison, located at the rear on the south side, was enclosed by high walls.

Two plans dating to 1634 and 1779 give details of the building. The former was commissioned by Inquisitor General Castro and drawn up by his architect, Matheus Couto. The 1779 plan was compiled by the Brazilian military engineer Joao Godinho who investigated the feasibility of converting the building for other public uses after the first abolition of the Inquisition. The idea was abandoned when the capital was shifted to Panjim and the building demolished.

The 1779 plan provides an elevation. The ground floor had three sections with the entrance veranda located in the central section, the longest. It ran east to west and had a sloped roof. Beyond the veranda were large rooms, probably for storage. A windowless wall separated this section from the prison cells.

The 1779 plan reveals a westward extension into the Leilao, with rooms built around a central courtyard. The ground floor rooms were rented out to gentios for use as shops and storerooms. The senior inquisitor lived in the suite above. This addition was made before 1673, for Dellow mentions three entrances, those on either side of the central entrance giving access to the apartments and offices of the inquisitors. The building had a ground and first floor, and a second floor over a part of the west wing adjacent to the Se Cathedral. The administrative area facing the Terreiro do Sabayo was not walled.

Above this central section was a large hall accessed by a staircase from the front veranda. Adorned with blue and yellow tapestry, it was here that private autos-da-fe were conducted. Tavernier met the



Cut-away view of the front elevation

Plan references:

1634: ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-CG-0470_m0049_derivada;

ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-CG-0470_m0051_derivada

1779: Helder Carita et al. Palacio da Inquisicao de Goa,

acasasenhorial.org/acs/index.php/en/fontes-documentais-en/plantas-antigas-en/450-palacio-da-inquisicao-de-goa

inquisitor here (Tavernier 1889: 202). He passed through two grand galleries and some other rooms, probably the offices on the west wing. The inquisitor sat at the end of a large table, about 15 feet long and four feet wide, placed in the centre of the hall on a platform about a foot high. It, like all the furniture in the room, was covered in green cloth brought from England.

A large crucifix reaching almost to the ceiling adorned the wall at one end of the table. This crucifix is now preserved in St Sebastian's Chapel in Fontainhas, Panjim. It depicts a unique image of Christ. Unlike other crucifixes in which Christ's head is lowered, here the head is unbowed and erect, and the eyes, made of glass, are open and alive. It is said that under their piercing stare, guilty persons facing it collapsed into an involuntary and uncontrollable convulsion.

The administrative bloc, located on the east side of the central section on the first floor, included the secreto, chapel, interrogation, audience, and judgement rooms. A staircase in a passage between these rooms led to the lower floor. Another led to the floor above where the second inquisitor's quarters were located. The viceroy's letter (October 1632) to the king suggests these were probably completed by Inquisitor Joao Delgado Figueira by diverting part of the money allocated for building the prison (Abreu 1866: 62).

The prison

The prison was two storeys high with rows of small cells, ten feet square. The number of cells was considerably less than the 200 estimated by Dellow. The 1634 plan shows 43 cells on the lower floor and 42 on the upper, totally 85. The 1779 plan shows 28 cells on the lower floor with four large rooms replacing an entire row of cells. Ventilation vents were added to each cell, and a corner cell and part of the corridor converted into a toilet. The upper floor had 35 cells, making a total of 63. Cell rows were separated by four uncovered



Open to sky

M, N

Shops rented out to gentlos

1

Entrance to shops M

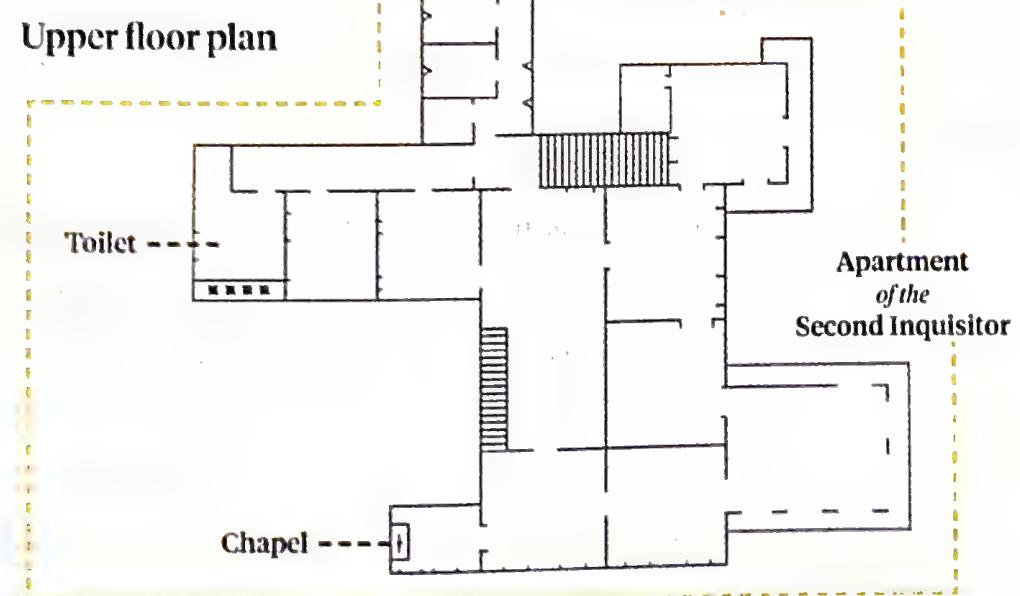
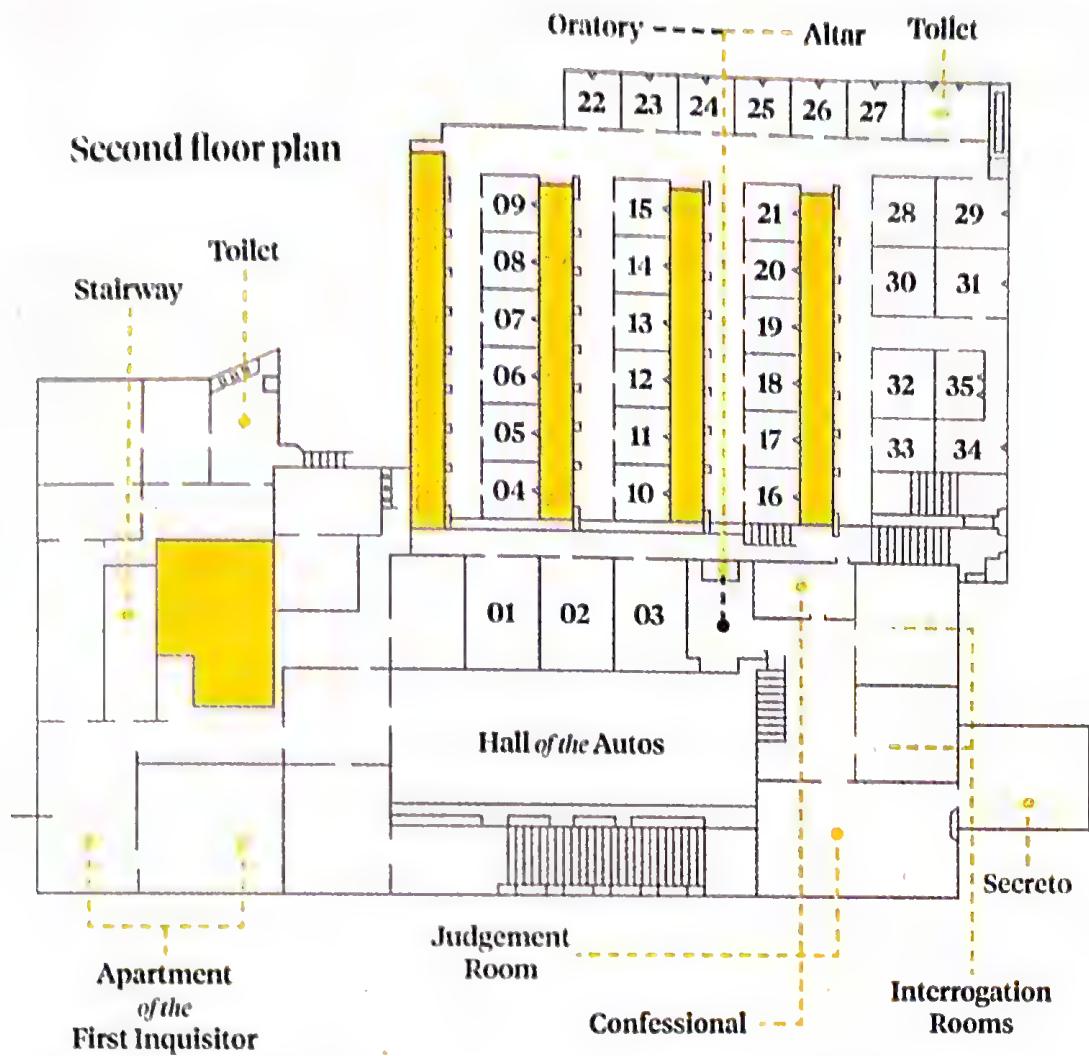
Stairs to the Senior Inquisitor's apartment



Former Lellaو



Ground floor plan



galleries running in the north-south direction. They allowed light and ventilation to filter in. Both floors contained rooms (four and three) that were dark and without windows, probably the ones shown to Dellen when he complained about his cell.

Dellen writes the cells were square, vaulted, whitewashed, clean, and lighted by a small grated and open window placed at a height above the reach of the tallest man. The walls were five feet thick. Every cell was secured by two doors, one opening inwards, and the other outwards. The inner door had two divisions. The upper had a little window through which prisoners received their food, linen, and other necessities; the lower had a grill. The outer door was usually left open from 6 to 11 am for ventilation.

Prisoners were fed three meals daily: breakfast at six, dinner at ten, supper at four. Indians were served rice and fish curry; Europeans, bread, fish, and fruits, sometimes a sausage. Sick prisoners were cared for by physicians and surgeons, some of them gentios. A confessor was called if a prisoner was in danger of dying.

Neither plan shows a separate torture room. That does not mean such a room did not exist. The *Reportorio* names prisoners who were tortured. Dellen writes that during November and December every morning he heard the cries and groans of people being questioned, and that he met persons lamed by torture.

Costs

Alterations to the Sabayo Palace to incorporate modern facilities and the requirements specified in the *Regimento* were an expensive and long drawn out affair. In 1610, the king sanctioned 2,000 cruzados drawn from the tax authority (BNR: mss1312886_114). On March 21, 1619, the king ordered work to commence on the prison and inquisitor's accommodation (BNR: mss1312887_191). Further letters ordered the viceroy to release money from the treasury and fines imposed by

judicial courts. A letter of 1625 confirmed ongoing work. In 1629, the king, citing his letters of 1627 and 1628, ordered the viceroy to complete the work as soon as possible.

In October 1632, the viceroy informed the king that the prison was almost complete. Fifty prison cells were added at a cost of £308-6-8 utilising left-over funds allocated for the construction of the Se Cathedral (Fonseca 1878: 213).

Rents

*Plano inferior do Tribunal Carceres; e das logeas MeN.
que alugaraõ sempre os Gentios.*

The legend in the 1779 plan states that the lower floor had shops marked M and N which will always be rented out to the gentios. Five large rooms marked M were located in the west wing beneath the first inquisitor's apartment, and three marked N in the east wing. It suggests gentio merchants who were displaced from their shops located on the Leilao (Pyrard n.d.: 65) were accommodated within the Sabayo Palace when the expansion of the west wing extended into the Leilao. A Lisbon directive of 1728 instructing the inquisitors to relocate a butcher's shop to a place away from the building (BNR: mss1352116_013) suggests the range of products for which the shops were used.

The Leilao was a central place of great commerce and revenue to the treasury. Merchants paid rent to the treasury and traded in all kinds of commodities every day of the year except Sundays and holy days from 7 to 9 am to avoid the heat. Sold here were gold chains, jewels, pearls, rings, gemstones, slaves, Arabian horses, spices, dried drugs, sweet gums, fine and costly coverlets, and many curious things from

Gujarat, Sind, Bengal, China, and other places. When a man died, his goods were brought here and auctioned.

Without specific documentation, it is difficult to assess the rents collected over the years. An idea of prevailing rents can be got from the annual rent of 40,000 reis (135 xerafins) paid for promotor Jorge Ferreira's house in 1598 and 20,000 reis for that of notary Paulo Couraca (1595). Inquisitors faced problems in collecting these rents. As early as 1615, they complained that rents remained unpaid (BNR: mss1312887_133). The problem worsened with time. In 1798, Lisbon advised that the collection of rents should not be delayed as it would be impossible for tenants to pay if the amount increased beyond a certain value (BNR: mss1352118_091, 096). A letter of 1803 instructed the tax judge to resolve this issue, and another of 1807 reveals that in certain cases rents had not been collected for almost 10 years (BNR: mss1352118_104, 105; mss1352118_109, 110).

When the Inquisition was finally abolished in 1812, its treasury contained £1,351-3-4. It was transferred to the public treasury.

The disintegration of the Sabayo Palace

In 1827, Cottineau visited the ruins of the Sabayo Palace just before it was razed (1828-30) and its material used for constructing Panjim's public buildings (Cottineau 1831: 70). The three lofty vaults of its front facade still stood, accessed by large stone steps. The building was decaying rapidly, with its doors and windows already disintegrated. The entrance was choked by shrubs, thorns, and rubbish. Kloguen suspected snakes and other reptiles had taken over the interior. He estimated the breadth of the building to be 70 feet (metres?) and the total extent of the complex to be two acres.

The remaining debris was finally cleared in 1859, shortly before Richard Burton, a British army officer, viewed it in the eerie silence of a moonlit night. He wrote: "A curse seems to have fallen upon it:

not a shrub springs between the fragments of stone, which broken and blackened with decay, are left to encumber the soil, as unworthy of being removed" (Burton 1851: 62). The Black Legend grew a little blacker.

Today a lawn grows on the stage where once so many weighty issues were investigated, debated, and judged, so many human tragedies played out.



The ruined and desolate Sabayo Palace
just before its demolition

Lista dos Naixes do Número do
Santo Ofício na Comissão delle na
Província de Salcete, feita aos 12 de
Maio 1792.

x Soab Joaquim Barbosa m^r. na Oldeia (Raya).
x Pedro Caetano de Melo m^r. na mesma.
x António Viegas m^r. em Chinchinim.
x Gabriel Francisco Pereira m^r. na mesma.
x António Morgulhas m^r. em Navelim.
x António Caetano Godinho m^r. em Calatao.
x Soixa Francisco Barreto m^r. em Velcas.
x Soxi Michael Barreto m^r. na mesma.
x Silvias Xavier Raposo m^r. em Ilomugas.
x Leonardo Vicente de Faria m^r. em Benaulim.
x António Soab das m^r. na mesma.
x António Felipe Monis m^r. na mesma.
x Sebastião Salvador da Silva m^r. na mesma.
x Ignacio Soxi Rebello m^r. em Betalbatim.
x António Pereira m^r. na mesma.
x Diódoto Felis Núñis m^r. em Verná.
x Francisco António de Figueiredo m^r. na mesma.
x Sebastião Baptista Barreto m^r. na villa de Largo.
x Joaquim Almeida Velho m^r. na mesma.
x Balthazar Vicente Albreira m^r. na mesma.
x Jerônimo Francisco Gomes m^r. na mesma.
x Joaquim Lourenço Antão m^r. em Astrofim.
x António Almeida de Almeida m^r. em Alfaiola.
x Soxi Francisco Xavier m^r. em (Raya).
x Ignacio Soxi Carvalho m^r. em Contalim.
x Almeida Ignacio de Almeida m^r. na mesma.
x Francisco Cleuterio Coutinho m^r. em Seraulim.
x Miguel Soxi de Almeida m^r. em Loutolim.
x Almeida Xavier de Faria m^r. na mesma.
x Francisco Xavier Rodrigues m^r. em Colmea.

Todos sub. - - - - - 30

List of Naiks, Salcete, 1792.

(ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-CG-1032_m0280_derivada)



Chapter Nine

The Ministers and Officials of the Inquisition

The Inquisition was a hierarchical bureaucracy with the General Council chaired by the Inquisitor General at the apex. The General Council, located in Lisbon, instituted policy, oversaw all regional courts, and was the final court of appeal. Local courts (Lisbon, Coimbra, Evora, Goa) constituted the second level. They were manned by inquisitors, deputies, promotores, procurators, qualificadores, notaries, and other staff. Commissars, familiares, and naiques comprised the third tier.

The *Regimento* emphasises the officials and staff of the Inquisition were to be of exemplary character, competence, and lineage (no Judaism crimes committed by them, their father, or paternal grandfather) (Limborsch 1731). They were to be literate and appointed only after proper due diligence, discreetly conducted, in which a person's credentials for the post were examined. They were paid a salary, required to work under tight rules and regulations, and hear mass 'with punctuality and devotion' in the private chapel of the inquisitor before taking up the day's business. The position conferred social distinction and privileges such as tax exemptions, authorization to wear silk clothing, and license to carry weapons (Faria 2014).

Inquisitor

Inquisitors, while appointed by the king, derived their authority to investigate, judge, and absolve suspects in matters of heresy from the pope's bull of 1536. They were priests above 40 years of age and qualified in canon or civil law. Only an experienced deputy who had demonstrated competence and integrity qualified for the post.

The inquisitor published the edict of faith in convents and parishes every year on the first Sunday of Lent. He took cognizance of and prosecuted all crimes that came within his jurisdiction. Two inquisitors were appointed to the tribunal in Goa with the senior being always given prominence. They had the authority to appoint persons to various offices. An Inquisitor who abused his powers could be punished by the General Council in a manner that did not harm the dignity and authority of the office in the public eye.

Deputy

Deputies were qualified, noble clergymen above 25 years of age with the character required by a future inquisitor. They were licentiates by private examination in one of the faculties of divinity, canon or civil law. The Inquisitor could summon them at any time to assist in investigations. They could ask questions, and were entitled to vote when sentence was passed.

Promotor (prosecutor)

The promotor examined depositions and witnesses, collected information on the case, and prepared the chargesheet. He was expected to be as qualified and industrious as the deputies, and was given one of the three keys to the secreto.

These case papers were submitted to the board and it was decided that the accused was obliged to defend himself, the promotor was required to check if there was anything in favour of the accused which

could serve in his defence. This was noted before an arrest warrant was issued. The promotor had books and precedents at his disposal to refer to while framing his case and compiling case details. A prisoner could appeal against a sentence to the General Council. Only original papers, not copies, were to be sent. Dallon exercised this right to get himself released in Portugal.

Notary

Notaries made copious notes of all trial proceedings and depositions while remaining silent at all times. They made out warrants, notarised copies, letters of enquiry, and assisted with required documentation. They also noted a person's reaction during interrogations.

Notaries were qualified and literate clergymen. Two of the senior-most were given two keys to the secreto. One of the notaries was to say mass in the private chapel of the inquisition half an hour before the tribunal sat. The notary ensured a curator was assigned to sign the papers on behalf of prisoners below 25 years of age.

Procurator (defence lawyer)

Procurators were graduates in canon or civil law. Prisoners appointed a procurator through a power of attorney. The procurator had access to all documents concerning the case, and could interview a prisoner in private for the preparation of the defence. He could produce upto six defence witnesses to refute any article. He made the final plea on behalf of the prisoner, and the appeal after the sentence was passed. A copy of the bye-laws was available to him for reference. The procurator received a fee for each interview in addition to costs.

Qualificador

Qualificadors were doctorates in theology. Their principal duty was to give opinions on issues raised by inquisitors or the General Council. They were sworn to secrecy.

Commissar

Commissars were ecclesiastics appointed as the inquisitor's representatives in various places. They were given limited authority to punish deviants, make arrests, punish or expel non-Christians violating the law, and execute commissions entrusted to them without exceeding the terms of reference. They reported in writing any incident in their jurisdiction "which may be inimical to the purity of our holy faith, or occasion scandalous superstitions, or false worships, that may disturb the quiet of the people." They were not to accept compensation from anyone but the Inquisition. They ensured penitents performed their penances, admonishing them "with meekness and suavity of manner" if they didn't, and reported non-compliance.

Familiare

Familiares were lay officers who acted as bailiffs, spies, and guards for the inquisitors, secretly reporting persons for lapses related to the Christian faith or imposed penances. Familiares were the inquisitor's collaborators and allies: "let it be known to the nobility that if it wanted cleanliness of blood for its forbears, the Inquisition alone could provide such a thing; and if the nobility cared to demonstrate its zeal for the faith its members might do well to accept the honor of being appointed familiars of the Holy Office" (Saraiva 2001: 148). They were persons of social status and known capability with "ample property to live upon" so that they could not be corrupted. They wore their badge of office and carried their staffs when apprehending an accused or when prisoners were committed to their care. Familiares received no salary but were compensated for work done. They were granted plenary indulgences and other spiritual rewards. The power and influence the position offered was much sought after.

Dellon's familiare was the general of the Portuguese navy in India. He remained beside Dellon throughout the entire ceremony.

Others

The Inquisition employed lower rung officials for various duties, such as bailiff, jailor, guard, turnkey, porter, solicitor, steward, physician, surgeon, and barber. All took an oath to faithfully discharge their duties, maintain secrecy, and not take up any other commission except in the service of the king. Generally, the hours of business were from eight to eleven o'clock in the morning and two to five in the afternoon.

List and salary of the Inquisition's officials (October – December 1766)

(ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-1301-m0130-140, m0150-152)

(xerafin-tanga-reis; xerafin = 300 reis, 1 tanga = 1.25 reis)

Inquisitor Senior	1	459-1-40
Inquisitor	1	459-1-40
Promotor and Deputy	1	271-1-40
Deputy	8	25-0-0 each
Notary	2	91-3-20 each
Adjudant	6	45-0-0 each
Bailiff	1	108-1-40
Jailor	1	83-1-40
Chemist	1	58-1-20
Porter/ Guard	1	52-2-30
Naique	7	25-0-00 each
Commissar Salcete	1	
Commissar Bardes	1	
Commissar Diu	1	
Commissar Daman	1	
Commissar Mocambique	1	
Commissar Senna/ Quilimane	1	
Commissar Tette/ Zumbo	1	

Commissar Macau	1	
Commissar Timor	1	
Naiques Salcete	30	
Naiques Bardes	13	
Naiques Ilhas	12	

Salary expenses 1800

(Abreu 84-85)

Inquisitor	3	4,999-2-00
Promotor	1	666-3-20
Deputy	4	400-0-00
Secretary	2	733-1-40
Adjudant	3	366-3-29
Meirinho	1	433-1-40
Alcaide	1	333-1-40
Dispenseiro	1	233-1-40
Porteiro	1	166-3-20
Solicitor	1	166-3-20
Guard	2	420-0-00
Physician	2	50-0-00
Physician	2	20-0-00
Surgeon	1	12-0-00
Barber	1	12-0-00
Meirinho (secular court to assist at whipping)	1	10-0-00
Africans (prison servants)	3	180-0-00
Armed guards for 3 inquisitors and promotor	14	597-1-40
Meirinho (serving as interpreters)	4	240-0-00
		10,148-2-40



Naique

The naique appeared on the Inquisition's rolls towards the end of the seventeenth century. While his primary function was that of an interpreter, he assisted the regional commissar in carrying out his responsibilities. In 1728, the king sanctioned the appointment of 12 naiques in Ilhas, 30 in Salcete, and 15 in Bardes. The appointment brought high status and privileges with it and was seen as an instrument of social distinction among local Christians.

The Pintos of Candolim (Cunha Rivara 1996)

On December 9, 1788, Manoel Caetano Pinto, an officer of the Ponda legion, was condemned to death for his role in the 1787 conspiracy in which priests and soldiers from Bardes attempted a coup against the government. Their objective was to expel the Portuguese from Goa. The coup leaders were betrayed and the attempt was suppressed. Fifteen persons were condemned to death. Tied to the tail of a horse, they were dragged through the streets to the gallows to the accompaniment of the town crier. Their hands were chopped off while still alive. Decapitated and quartered, their remains were displayed on poles in different towns and villages until they decayed with time. Manoel's brother Pe Joao Baptista Pinto, a priest, also found guilty, was jailed in Lisbon. He returned in 1807.

The 1787 conspiracy, also known as the Pinto Conspiracy, came under the jurisdiction of secular courts. Of the 56 who were known to be implicated, 15 were executed, five deported with confiscation of assets, five sent to the galleys, and 14 priests sent to prison in Lisbon. Nine could not be tried, and the rest, including Narba Naik of Ponda, the only non-Christian, were acquitted.

Manoel came from the distinguished Pinto family of Candolim. Its founder, Naru Sinay, had migrated from Loutolim (Salcete) in the

sixteenth century. Ganvkari records of 1604 reveal that he purchased the fifth vangod there. Naru's widow converted to Christianity along with her children. One of them was Santu Sinay who was baptised at the age of eight in 1585 and named Salvador Pinto. Salvador was very active in helping the Franciscans promote Christianity (Thekadath 1988: 344). In recognition of his services, they used their influence to reward him with land and other grants. His body, when he died c.1640, received a church burial. Manoel was Salvador's great-great-great-grandson.

Salvador's progeny was large and, with its extensive properties and high-level contacts with Church, government, and Inquisition, enjoyed a high status in Candolim. Manoel's uncle, Antonio, born in 1714, was appointed a naique. A prominent businessman with establishments in Lisbon and Bahia, he undertook work for the government. In 1770, he was decorated with a distinctive coat of arms "for having served the State arms, servants, and slaves, for being the noblest and richest family in the State..." Like Antonio, other Pintos (Ignacio, 1742; Joaquim, 1792) were also appointed naiques. Inquisitor Manuel Azevedo was Pe Joao Pinto's godfather.

Antonio's son, Manoel's nephew, Salvador Joao Pinto (1733-95) inherited his father's considerable estates. His name appears in the 1767 list of naiques. Other Pintos were in the Senate of Bardes. It must have wrenches the family to find itself in a position in which some members were honoured by the State while others were condemned as traitors.

*Lista dos Naixos do Número do Santo
Ofício na Comissaria da Província
de Bardes, feita em 12 de Mayo 1792.*

- x* Joaquim Bernardo Pinto m^r em Candolim.
- x* José Caetano Mansel de Melo m^r em Socorro.
- x* Joaquim Antônio de Souza m^r na mesma.
- x* José Paulo de Góes m^r em Pomburpa.
- x* Jacinto Caetano Lobo m^r em Nachonola.
- x* Lourenço Mansel de Souza m^r em Aldona.
- x* Antônio Caetano Ribeiro m^r em Socorro.
- x* Mathias Mariano Fernandes m^r em Siblim.
- x* Caetano Góes de Nazaré m^r em Mapurá.
- x* Joaquim Luís de Sá m^r em Candolim.
- x* Bejamim Lourenço Dalgado m^r em Afagás.
- x* Caetano de Campos, de Melo m^r em Afagás.
- x* Redurindo Ferreira Tomé m^r em Afagás.
- x* José Vicente de Souza m^r em Calangute.
- x* Bejamim Venceslau de Souza m^r na mesma.

List of Naiks, Ilhas, 1792.

(ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-CG-1032_m0282_derivada)

*Lista dos Naixos do Número do Santo
Ofício nas Ilhas de Goa feita ao 12 de
Maio de 1792.*

- x* Salvador da Fonseca m^r em Návar.
- x* Roque Martins m^r em Taleigás.
- x* Pascal Francisco de Melo m^r na mesma.
- x* Domingos Mansel de Melo m^r na mesma.
- x* Pedro Paulo Gomes Gonçalves m^r em S. Bárbara.
- x* Marcos Ignacio de Sá m^r em Cumbarjua.
- x* Francisco Xavier Dotorio Gomes m^r em S. Mathias.
- x* Nicolás de Souza m^r na mesma.
- x* José Mansel Pereira da Sylvreia m^r na mesma.
- x* Alexandre Pereira m^r em Corlim.
- x* Manoel Antônio Carvalho m^r em Piedade.
- x* Victorino Xavier da Bragança m^r em S. Bartolomeu.

Todos vao - 12

List of Naiks, Bardes, 1792.

(ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-CG-1032_m0281_derivada)



Regimento of 1640



Chapter Ten

The Inquisitorial Procedure

The first *Regimento* (1552) of the Portuguese Inquisition unambiguously stated it “was to be governed as a tribunal of the crown, as it has been from the beginning...” The first Inquisitor General, Dom Henrique, being the king’s brother and later king, ensured that. Further editions were issued in 1613, 1640, and 1774 (Lima 1999). An exclusive *Regimento* was produced for the Goan court when it was reconstituted in 1778 (Faria 2014).

In the 1774 version, Inquisitor General da Cunha, capitalising on the prevailing sentiment against the Jesuits who had been suppressed by Pombal in 1759, blamed their “malignant influence” for contaminating the “primitive purity” of the bye-laws in the 1640 edition. Citing the Bible and other authorities, Cunha pointed out “pernicious errors” that had crept in: denying prisoners the right to know the accusation against them and the names of the accusers; condemning prisoners to death, confiscation of property, and disinheriting of families on the testimony of a single witness; use of torture; the right to appeal to the crown. His revised bye-laws were divided into two books. Book II laid down the rules for conducting a case under 15 subjects. These specify how denunciations and confessions were to be received, when and

how torture was to be applied, the evidence required for convicting, the conduct of officials during a case, the procedure against different categories of offenders, and treatment of suspicions and appeals.

The Edict of Faith (Priolkar 1961: 92-97 citing 1640 Regimento 207-210)

Edicts of Faith enunciated the Inquisition's objectives and the offences it punished. They were given wide publicity, kept on church notice boards, and read out and published every first Sunday of Lent. Priests were ordered to read it "in a loud and intelligible voice" before the congregation or face excommunication and a fine of 50 cruzados.

Edicts of Faith ordered all persons, ecclesiastical and secular, to come forward and denounce within 30 days any baptised Christian they knew to have said or done anything against the Holy Catholic Faith. Persons not doing so would be excommunicated and proceeded against, as would anyone impeding denunciations.

The visit

The process of an inquisition usually began with a district visit by the inquisitor. He presented his credentials to the regional ecclesiastical authority and called upon all faithful to attend his sermon on an appointed day. The sermon elucidated the necessity of eradicating all manner of heresies specified in the Edict of Faith. A few days of grace were given for guilty persons to appear voluntarily, or to denounce anyone they suspected of such offences. Compliance would be rewarded with indulgences, non-compliance with excommunication.

Appresentados were treated leniently. They were generally readmitted "into the bosom of the church" after their abjuration, and given spiritual instruction and sometimes light penances the performance of which ensured their sincerity. Such abjurations were often done at the meza without the penitential dress before

the inquisitors, a notary, and two witnesses, who, together with the appresentado, signed the instrument of abjuration. If later it was shown that the confession was inadequate, the appresentado was imprisoned and proceeded against. Appresentado arch heretics and dogmatists abjured in the penitential dress in a public place because of the public scandal they had caused. The sentence usually included a period of seclusion in a monastery.

Persons were to be denounced for

- observing the precepts of Islam, Judaism, or the heretical sects of Luther or Calvin
- denying free will, usury, and fornication were mortal sins
- believing faith and baptism alone without good works were sufficient for salvation
- thinking ill of the sacraments and Catholic ritual, and affirming that confessing to God alone was sufficient
- denying heaven, hell, purgatory, the primacy of the pope and Church, or refusing to venerate relics and images of saints
- denying or doubting the sacraments of the eucharist, confession, marriage, and any article of faith
- not fasting when ordered to do so by Church authorities
- making adverse comments on the purity and virginity of the Blessed Virgin
- practising Jewish astrology
- celebrating mass, marriages, or hearing confessions without being priests

Also to be denounced were priests who married or solicited, bigamists, sodomites, sorcerers, astrologers, witches, or anyone who practised other superstitions and invoked and venerated the devil, freemasons, persons owning, reading, or dealing in banned books, and persons punished by the Inquisition who subsequently said their confession was false, or who disclosed the secret of Inquisitorial proceedings, or slandered the Inquisition.

The process or trial

There were two legal procedures by which a process could be initiated against someone: *accusatio* (accusation) and *inquisitio* (enquiry).

Prosecution in the former was based on an accusation. If the accuser failed to prove his case, he was liable to the same punishment that the culprit would have received if the case had been proved against him. The accuser posted a bond and paid the expenses of the accused if he was acquitted. In the majority of cases, therefore, people chose to denounce rather than accuse a person of heresy. The Inquisition recognized denunciation as the principal basis for proceeding against a person.

The process began when someone came forward to report a misdemeanour. The inquisitor was required to personally hear every denunciation. Denouncers gave their personal details, reasons for coming forward, reasons for delay if any, and any other detail deemed necessary to assess the credibility of the denunciation. Such details included the condition of the denounced person at the time of committing the crime (drunk, under stress), and his response to an admonition, if any. The testimony was written down, ratified, and signed by the witness who swore to secrecy.

The inquisitor then began "a most rigid investigation" with the "greatest rigour and exactitude" into the lives, habits, integrity, and

reputation of the denouncer and witnesses to verify their credentials. They checked if they had had any animosity or disputes with the denounced. In such cases, inquisitors stopped further proceedings and instead proceeded against the denouncer as a false witness. If the denunciation had merit, the case documents were laid at the meza, an arrest made, and the promotor filed charges in which he set down anything favouring the defence. These papers were examined by the procurator in the preparation of the defence.

The bye-laws specified how the trial was to be conducted, and precautions to be taken in specific cases like confessional soliciting, sodomy, bigamy, or doctrinal matters which required an opinion from a qualificador. For instance, a bigamy case was to be taken up only after the facts of both marriages were known, whether they were lawful, and whether the second marriage was performed while the first partner was still alive. Verification required certificates extracted from the register of marriages, or by witnesses.

Before the promotor proceeded with his case, the defendant was admonished three times at intervals of 10 days. Each session began with the defendant swearing to be truthful. He was repeatedly urged to confess before the trial proceeded further. A confession, unless inadequate, brought the investigation to an end.

In the first admonition, personal details like names, age, profession, place of birth and residence, and marital and baptismal details were noted. A Catholic was asked details of his baptismal sponsors, to make the sign of the cross and recite various prayers. A defendant was asked if he was literate, had travelled to other lands, or had appeared earlier before the Inquisition. In the second session, the prisoner was interrogated on the crimes for which he had been denounced. In heresy trials, the defendant was asked to elaborate on his beliefs and what books he had read. In the final session, the defendant was confronted

with the evidence of witnesses. Volunteered information was noted. If the defendant refused to confess, the promotor took up the case.

The defendant was urged to stick to the bare truth or face the "very rigorous punishment" inflicted on false witnesses. If a prisoner confessed, further proceedings were conducted personally by the inquisitor. If the confession related to heretical errors, he was asked to name the person who taught him the errors, the time and place, the persons present, the manner of teaching, and for how long he believed in them.

At the end of a hearing, the prisoner was asked to repeat details noted by the notary and certified by the inquisitor. The inquisitor pointed out any deficiencies, contradictions, and inconsistencies in the confession, without pressing too hard because, as the bye-laws attest, "the contradictions and repugnances, observed in such cases, may proceed more from ignorance and fear, than actual design..."

Torture

The use of torture is a central theme of the Black Legend. It is not so in the *Regimento*. Rather, it emphatically states that no violence



was to be used against suspects in order to maintain the integrity and reputation of the Inquisition. The 1774 bye-laws recognized that "torture is a most cruel method of investigating crimes...the most sure invention to punish innocent weakness, and to favour hardened guilt, or to extort falsehood from both—the

most arbitrary of all ordinary forms of law, which do not permit the infliction of a certain and horrible punishment for a crime still

doubtful..." This was written when secular courts still resorted to torture in cases of conspiracy against the king and State.

Heresy being considered a crime that undermined king and State, the bye-laws justified the use of torture: "when the indispensable necessity of extirpating the roots of such an obnoxious pestilence renders it expedient that public security should preponderate over the individual convenience of the guilty." Torture was sanctioned if arch heretics and dogmatists, "monsters which so much shake religion in its solid foundations," did not confess or if they concealed the names of their associates. It was allowed only when the complete truth could not be found by other means, and when the defendant could not establish his innocence but there was strong evidence to convict him.

Strict rules governed the use of torture. It was applied only in the presence of the inquisitors, deputies, and others of authority so that three votes would always be present. Before torture was applied, the defendant was shown the instruments of torture and admonished to discharge his conscience to avoid it. If he persisted, executioners were called in along with a physician and surgeon and administered an oath that they would execute their duty properly. Torture was applied only if the prisoner was medically fit. He was told if he died or broke any limbs, it was entirely his fault, and that he could still avoid torture by confessing his crimes. The severity of torture depended on the degree of heresy, the health of the prisoner, and the discretion of the judges.

A popular method of torture was the *strappado*. Stripped and bound, the person was hoisted by his wrists and dropped with a jerk from a height. Torture was discontinued if the person wished to confess or fainted. A confession had to be ratified by the prisoner in the presence of two ecclesiastical persons 24 hours later. If the inquisitors were satisfied, they proceeded with the process of reconciliation. If after 24 hours, the prisoner revoked his confession, torture could be

applied again to a more severe degree. A severely tortured person who confessed nothing was freed.

This was the regulation for the application of torture. There is little to tell if there were variations in its practice.

The defence

If a prisoner confessed, the case proceeded to the next stage. If not, witnesses were re-examined and the prisoner allowed a procurator to assist him in his defence. A prisoner less than 25 years of age was allotted a guardian. The procurator was provided with a copy of the charge sheet prepared by the promotor. Both argued the case at the meza which finally passed judgement. A qualificador was called upon to clarify any doubts on finer theological issues.

Judgement

The process ended with the judgement delivered by a panel consisting of not less than five persons including the inquisitors, deputies, and designated clerics. The prisoner was given a final say before the panel voted on condemning or absolving him. All members of the panel signed the recorded decision. The case was sent to the Council-General if no decision could be made.

A condemned person was informed of the sentence 15 days before the auto-da-fe. During that time, a hearing was granted anytime it was requested, and a confession, even at this late stage, was reviewed in line with the primary objective of obtaining an abjuration and reconciliation.

A process ended in different ways. A person judged innocent, or implicated because of false witnesses, or against whom the accusation was not fully proved was absolved; no crime was mentioned in his sentence. A reconciled heretic abjured his heresy in public at an auto-da-fe or in private at the meza. The automatic excommunication he

had incurred was lifted and he was welcomed back in the Church. Obstinate and impenitent relapses, judged beyond redemption, were handed over to secular justice. Their property was confiscated, and they were burnt at the Campo Sao Lazaro. Thus was their infamy erased.

Death in custody

The death of a prisoner in custody was certified by a physician and two notaries. Details were recorded as to whether his death was natural or violent, and he had confessed during his last illness and performed other Christian acts. Different procedures were followed in the disposal of the property and defence of the name of the dead person depending on whether he was a heretic or not. Relatives were involved in the process. The case against a deceased imprisoned for crimes other than heresy, "seeing the crime is extinguished by death", was dropped. A certificate was issued to his relatives attesting that he had been imprisoned for crimes other than heresy. This allowed the last rites to be performed in church and internment in sacred ground. In all cases concerning a deceased, inquisitors were advised to proceed with extra care as the dead could not defend themselves.



Form of abjuration

Abjuration by the confessed- em forma 1605

I, before you, Senor Inquisitors, swear on these holy gospels on which I have placed my hands, that I, of my own and free will, reprove and rid myself of all sort of heresy and apostasy, whatever it is that is against our sacred Catholic Faith and Apostolic See, especially those I fell for, which I have confessed before your mercies, which I have here repeated and declared, and I swear to always have and keep the sacred Catholic Faith, and who has and purifies Holy Mother Church of Rome, and that I will always be very obedient to the Holy Father Pope _____ who is the head of God's Church and his successors. I confess that all who are against this Holy Catholic Faith are worthy of condemnation and I swear never to associate with them, and to pursue them, and report their heresies to the inquisitors and fathers of the church, and I will not fall into the same errors again or any other sort of heresy and apostasy, so that I avoid relapse and just punishment. I submit to the severity of the sacred canons and require the notary of the Inquisition to make a record of this matter, and I sign this instrument before witnesses who are here present.

(mss1312883_027 BNR)



Chapter Eleven

Heresy and Treason

In his correspondence with the Mughal Emperor, the viceroy used a long and richly elaborate form of address to claim a legitimacy deriving directly from the Christian God:

“In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, three distinct persons, and only one true God, True Creator of the skies, and earth, and Saviour of Humankind.

By the grace of the same God, reigns in Europe the Very High, and Very Powerful and Magnificent Dom Joao the Fifth, Lord of the Four Parts of the World, King of Portugal and the Algarve on this side and the other side of the sea in Africa Lord of Guinea and the conquest, navigation, commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, Brazil and Coast of America...” (de Melo 2012: 46-47).

It followed that any Christian subject of the king who questioned the Church’s interpretation of Holy Scripture, in other words a heretic, undermined the legitimacy of the king and was a traitor.

Heresy is etymologically derived from the Greek *haeresis* meaning ‘choice’. In matters of heresy, this choice lies in a deliberate choosing of error over truth as defined by the Church. To be termed a heretic, one must publicly avow and obstinately defend this opinion even

after correction. A heretic challenges the authority of the Church and its claim to interpret scripture as a channel of God's will on earth. In other words, he challenges God himself (Deane 2011: 4).

Heresy cannot exist without orthodoxy. At significant periods in its history, the Church held ecumenical councils to define "orthodoxy" and resolve contentious doctrinal issues threatening its unity. The Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17) urged such councils be held every three years, be widely attended, and absentees punished. The Council of Nicaea (325 CE), called to establish orthodoxy as to the nature of God, became a powerful tool used by political authority to suppress heretics and political opponents. In 380 CE, Emperor Theodosius, finding his subjects divided by doctrinal differences, sought to impose a uniform orthodoxy by decreeing that only those who professed the Nicaean Creed were Christians. The rest were branded with the "infamy of heresy" and subjected to secular law. Centuries later, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), likening heretics to weeds in a wheat field and drawing from Roman law, issued a bull stripping heretics of all civic or clerical rights of office. Their property was confiscated and children deprived of their inheritance. Equating heresy with treason, he reasoned if treason against a secular power was a crime deserving death, then heresy - a crime against God's will - could only merit more (Deane 2011: 51).

Orthodoxy and the Provincial Councils of Goa

The establishment of the diocese of Goa in 1534 made it the chief ecclesiastical centre in the East and raised many new issues that required a redefinition of orthodoxy in the Asian context (Pallath 2005). Six Provincial Councils held in Goa (1567, 1575, 1585, 1592, 1606, 1894-95) attempted to do this by passing decrees on issues such as the propagation of Christianity, prohibition of forced conversions, obligation of non-Christians to attend sermons, baptism of orphans,

preserving the faith of converts, preventing their relapse, and reforming harmful traditions among them. It deliberated on ecclesiastical reform, correcting ecclesiastical abuse and improving discipline, the correct approach towards Syrian Christians, non-Christians, and slaves, restricting idolatry and the public practice of gentile rituals, and remedies to correct malpractices and injustices of Portuguese officials in various capacities. The viceroy represented the king at these deliberations.

The extirpation of heretics (Limborsch Vol II Book III: 1-40)

The Inquisition classified heretics as open or secret. An open heretic publicly professed a belief contrary to that of the Church and defended it. Arch heretics (dogmatists) invented heresies and openly propagated them. Their punishment, therefore, involved their public humiliation and the de-legitimisation of their beliefs. They wore the carocha inscribed with the word 'dogmatist' in public autos-da-fe.

Secret or concealed heretics erred in their mind but did not show it outwardly in word or deed. Since their heresy was concealed within their mind, it could only be suspected. Bigamy, for instance, was investigated by the Inquisition to find out if it was committed due to lust or in deliberate defiance of the Church's law on monogamy (which invited a suspicion of heresy). The danger of secret heretics lay in their ability to influence and pervert others.

A suspicion of heresy arose from a person's circumstances, affairs, and relations. Such details included his place of origin and residence, his parents, his age, property, caste, profession, and his relations with others. Inquisitors ascertained such information during the first examination as it suggested avenues for further investigations.

A person could be suspected of heresy in one of three degrees: light (de leve), vehement (de vehemente), violent (violente). A person

came under light suspicion because of certain actions and words, for instance when his manners, customs, and conversations differed from the normal. Deviations suggested heresy since heretical thinking was not normal. Vehement suspicion arose from external words and deeds like not appearing on time when summoned by an inquisitor, knowingly hindering the Inquisition, or assisting excommunicated persons. Violent suspicion arose from actions or words that conclusively proved a person was a heretic, like associating closely with heretics.

Auto-da-fe of April 3, 1650

Magdalene de Sousa (1650, Malcum, 40, Sangolda, Brahman, widow of Custana Prabhu) abjured de leve for interceding on behalf of a person possessing a gentile purana.

Joao Abreu (1650, 32, Brahman, Ilhas) abjured de vehementemente for converting to Islam and abandoning his faith in Muslim territories
 Francisco (30, captive, Curumbim) abjured em forma for the same offence. So too, four appresentados for converting to the gentile religion.

Heretics could be affirmative or negative. Affirmative heretics confessed and acknowledged their errors. Negative heretics, convicted by evidence, did not confess but insisted in their profession of the Catholic faith. Penitent heretics abjured their errors when admonished. Impenitent heretics obstinately persisted in their heresy or did not perform their penance.

Abjuration

A primary objective of the Inquisition was to reconcile heretics through their confession and abjuration. Heretics who came forward voluntarily with signs of true repentance were entitled to reconciliation.

Heretics abjured privately at the meza or publicly in the penitential dress for the “evil they have done and the public scandal they have caused by their false doctrines.”

A defective or imperfect confession was termed diminute. Such persons were treated with different degrees of severity. In extreme cases they were tortured and handed over to secular justice. A person who revoked his confession without offering evidence to prove the conviction wrong was termed impenitente negativo, and relaxed to secular justice as an arch heretic or dogmatist.

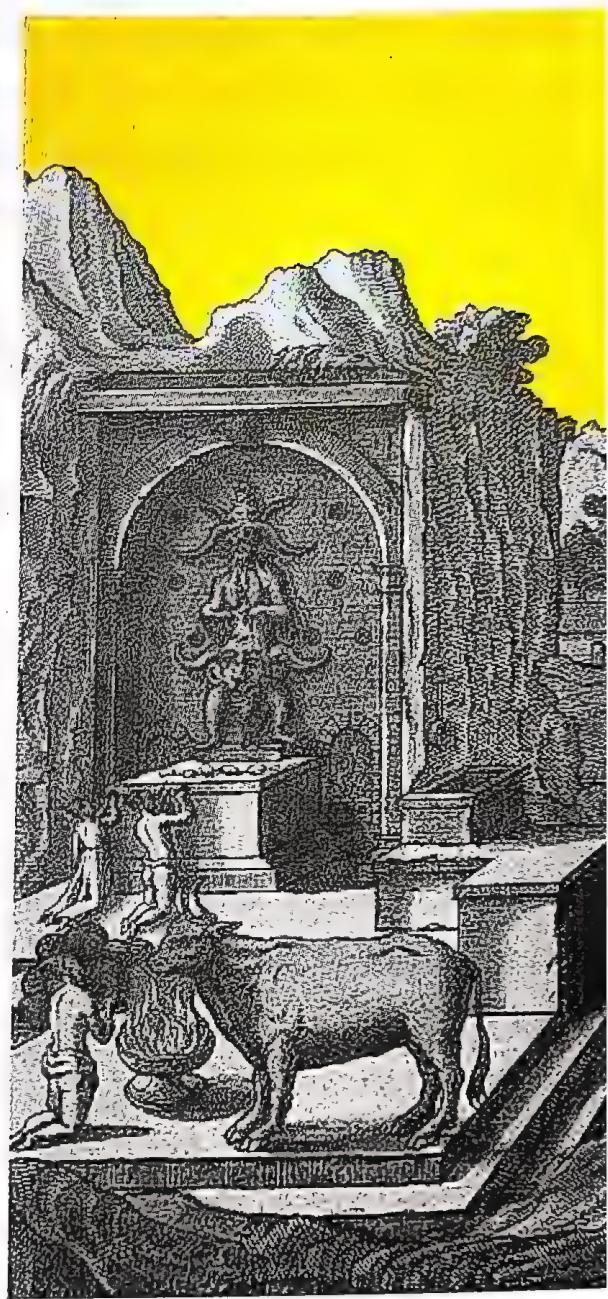
Punishments

Heretics were sentenced to both ecclesiastical and civil punishments. The first ecclesiastical punishment, excommunication, came automatically with a heretic's arrest.

Civil punishments included imprisonment; confiscation of property; denial of obedience from children, servants, and slaves; exile; denial of public protection, the benefit of law, and employment in public office. Heretics were declared enemies of the State. Slaves of heretics, if Catholic, were freed. A heretic's children were disinherited of property. Execution was reserved for obstinate and relapsed heretics.

A relapse was one convicted of the same heresy for which he had abjured earlier. For a person to be declared a relapse, it was necessary to prove both his earlier and present heresy. A heretic who committed suicide was judged guilty. A person who escaped from perpetual imprisonment was accounted as a relapse. A condemned heretic who confessed before being handed over to secular justice was reconciled and received a conditional reprieve. He wore the *fogo revolto samara* (penitential cape with inverted flames) to the *auto-da-fe*.

A heretic who repented after being handed over to secular justice was absolved from excommunication and given communion in the Inquisition's chapel. His soul was saved, but not his body. It was burnt.



Linschoten's depiction of idolatry



Chapter Twelve

Gentilidade and Sorcery

The Inquisition's initial focus on Islamism and Judaism rapidly gave way to containing the spread of gentilidade and sorcery, which ultimately covered over 80% of cases. One reason, no doubt, was the increasing number of converts and their unwavering attachment to old rituals.

	1561-1600	%	1601-1623	%	1650-1699	%	1700-1773	%
Islamism	431	27	217	11	251	11	36	1
Judaism	284	18	23	1	12		1	
Gentilidade and sorcery	294	19	1,284	63	1,734	74	3,837	87
Heresy	262	17	142	7	41	2	108	2
Inquisition	222	14	162	8	139	6	196	5
Bigamy	54	3	102	5	82	3	34	1
Sodomy	24	1	95	5	19	1	7	
Others	11	1	5		7		6	
Absolved					70	3	187	4
Total	1,582		2,030		2,355		4,412	

Offence-wise statistics 1561-1773

Another statistic reveals a sudden doubling of gentilidade cases between 1591-1600 and 1601-1610 (almost 80%), coinciding with the first Dutch attacks. It then drops as Dutch attentions shift to Indonesia.

	Gentilidade	Total	Percent
1561-1570	13	271	4.80
1571-1580	32	430	7.44
1581-1590	56	284	19.72
1591-1600	193	517	37.33
1600-1610	661	829	79.73
1611-1620	574	992	57.86

Processes (1561 - 1620)

These statistics suggest the Inquisition's attempt to consolidate the Catholic identity of converts when threatened by Protestant rivals. In 1603, the General Council warned inquisitors that Dutch ships were transporting bibles and books printed in Spanish with many errors and heresies, and asked them to take every precaution to prevent them from reaching Goa (BNR: mss1312883_052). In 1606, it ordered inquisitors to inspect book stores and confiscate all prohibited books (BNR: mss1312884_033). In 1615, it forbade the reading of books brought on English ships (BNR: mss1312884_178).

A similar increase in cases against non-Christians occurred as Maratha attacks intensified in the Província do Norte in the eighteenth century. It rose from 6% (67% in the Província do Norte) during 1650-1666 to 36% (85%) during 1685-1736 (page 244).

Gentilidade

Gentilidade included divination; visiting temples and associating in their construction; participating in gentile festivals, feasts, and funeral ceremonies; making offerings and sacrifices to deities for good fortune, treasure, and cures, and to the sea for a good catch; witchcraft; invoking the devil; keeping and venerating idols at home; ritual bathing in rivers; reconverting; officiating as gentile priests; wearing gentile costume; sporting a Brahmanical hair tuft (shendi); marrying according to gentile rites; the adoption of gentile rituals during cultivation; and similar practices. The first inquisitors were unsure if they were signs of a pagan belief that needed to be suppressed or innocuous actions that did not affect the Christian lives of converts.

1689: Padama (Curumbim, agriculturist, Tana); polvara for celebrating Divali and temple visit in the company of Christians.

1695: Martha Fernandes (40), her sons Custodio (17) and Pascoal (25), Joanna Dias (30), Paolo Castro (60), Miguel Castro (45), Manoel Castro (32) (cobblers, Curtarim, Navelim,); imprisoned for assisting in a gentile banquet commemorating a dead person.

1695: Posso Vayty (Colle, Versova); three years in the polvara for building a temple for his ancestors in his house and venerating them with offerings and illumination every Sunday.

1697: Gova, Madu, Ragu; making offerings to the sea for an abundant catch, Christovao Ataide (35, Colle, Trapor); reconciled on January 19, 1687 at Santa Monica, 7 years in the polvara

1752: Seven non-Christians (Managado, City); worship in temples, relieved of penance being appresentados. Four others were whipped and sent to the polvara, Ramo (Curumbim, dogmatist), was exiled.

Wizards and witches, sorcerers, diviners, and astrologers

In the world of the inquisitors, the devil was a very real entity capable of harming humans spiritually and physically. Observing "Whereas the divine conqueror of the aerial and infernal powers, when he visited this corrupt and idolatrous world, and redeemed mankind in it with his most precious blood from the bondage of the sin, left the devil broken down, imprisoned, and restrained from enjoining mankind...", the *Regimento* stated that some persons still attempted to make a covenant with malignant spirits "either from affectation or their own foolish invention, or from ignorance and foolish credulity..." It clarified that whoever believed in astrology, or invoked devils, or drew lines or circles to transport humans through space or to form ferocious animals and render rational creatures morbid and unhappy, or used herbal decoctions and superstitions in an attempt to deprive persons of their goods, health, and even lives were guilty of offences against God.

The Christian concept of the devil came to India with Europeans. Inquisitors saw the many deities that coloured the Indian pantheon as its manifestations. To converts, they remained real powers, benign or malevolent, that lived beyond human ken who could deliver solutions to vexing problems when properly honoured as per age old tradition. Such rites were performed for finding treasure, curing illness, seeking guidance for the sowing season, looking into the future, legal matters, etc. Inquisitors prosecuted bottos, *mulys*, and sorcerers for enticing converts from their new faith. Conversion had converted the divine into the diabolical.

In investigating sorcery, it was essential to find out if there was "any pact with the devil" (BNR: BN, 25.1,002, n.091. 02/15/1612). Sorcery involved invocation and physical exertions that induced a trance-like state during which the devil was believed to enter the sorcerer's body

and could be consulted. The punishment for sorcery was consistently severe and invariably involved wearing the carocha at the auto-da-fe, whipping, terms in the polvara or galley, or exile.

1690: Changabor (69, Bandarim, Tana) and his son, Zambor; three years in the polvara for consulting a sorcerer. Pero Carvalho (agriculturist, Provincia do Norte); eight years in the galleys, and exile. Two women named Bicaly (Provincia do Norte); polvara and exile. Two others, Jaminy and Caby (Colle); seven and 10 years polvara

1694: 16 persons from Maylquelme, Trapor; convicted for sacrificing to the devil in times of plague.

1755: Ignacio Almeida (grenadier, Brazil), described as brown (native American?), abjured de vehementer for escaping from prison. He was presumed to have had a pact with the devil, and was whipped and sent to the polvara for 10 years.

Reflections

Portugal attempted to control the minds of its subjects through conversion. Of the three courts dispensing justice in Goa, only the Inquisition dealt with offences related to the mind. Most of its convictions were for suspicions of heresy broadly classified under gentilidade. The Edict of 1736 was a form of psychological coercion and an attempt by the Inquisition to implant its invisible presence on the everyday lives of Christians by prohibiting minor carry-overs from the pre-conversion past, traditional things one did from force of habit. That the Inquisition felt it necessary even two centuries after it was established is a testimony to the impossible task it faced in eradicating the pre-Christian past from the daily lives of converts.

The Process

Treslado da apreentação do Pe. João
da Costa Português natural de S. João,
Capitão da Província de Almeida de São dos
Capuchos, feita na aldeia do Santo ofício
que andava junta ao Caderno dos Sordos.
mistas ar. 383. Em aquela apreent.
condemnado aos q. de Mayo de 1666
Confissão o Seguinte

The Conviction

juiz, cobrau o deo em termos de ser declarado por Conmiso no
Crime de Sodoma Contra Naturam, que por Conmiso
Confessou, devasso, Zelos, Escandaloso, e inimigo (depos de)

The Sentence

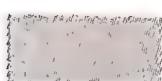
Feita a degradação actual de Sua ordem na forma do Ce-
renominal Romano, subio a nova Esperanca que se Consi-
dera de Sua Emenda, fôe relaxado a tribuna scilicet

The Judges

Deixou primo o Inquis. o mais antigo. Francisco de Jesus
Carrasco: Fr. Tomé de Almeida: Fernão de Guerio: Fr.
Fernando da Longuinhos: Fr. Antônio de Carvalho

The Execution

- Relatório em laudo: -
5.º, P.º José Leitão, Clerigo Presbítero expulso de coto
Religios, n.º 1.º Líbros, Gavetão da Almíneria dos
Lírios - por Delitos envito, corrupto, desredo,
zelos, escandaloso, inimigo, vagabundo?



Extracts from Pe. Joao da Costa's process

(Torre do Tombo, PT-TT-TSO-IL-28-12197.

Treslado do Processo do Padre Joao da Costa)

Chapter Thirteen

Sodomy and the Process of Pe Joao da Costa

Sodomy, termed *nefando*, was seen as “the second vilest offence after heresy.” Sodomites were not heretics. They were convicted for “crime de sodomia Contra Naturam”, a crime against God’s natural law, which deserved severe punishment. Sodomy was seen to threaten the very structure of the family and gender hierarchy, and undermine the sacrament of matrimony. Inquisitors referred to sodomites as *filhos da dissidencia* (sons of dissidence), and viewed their behaviour as an attack on the unity of the Catholic world and its orthodox teachings on morality (Mott n.d.).

The king authorized inquisitors to prosecute sodomites in 1553. Two years later, Inquisitor General Henrique confirmed sodomites could be burnt. Sodomy finds no reference in the *Regimentos* of 1552 and 1570; it appears only in that of 1613. The 1640 *Regimento* specifies sodomites were to be given public and exemplary punishment depending on how they confessed. Appresentados who came forward despite there being no witnesses were not punished but admonished not to repeat the crime. Penalties increased in severity (appearing in the auto-da-fe, public whipping, confiscation of property, exile) for appearing

after a denunciation had been made, repeat offences, and the degree of scandal caused. A third-time offender would be handed over to secular justice as incorrigible and licentious. A guilty female would generally hear her sentence at the meza but in certain circumstances would receive a public whipping and be exiled. In the 1774 *Regimento*, the Inquisition transferred the responsibility of passing the death sentence on socially privileged sodomites to the king.

After Cristaos-Novos, sodomites were the social group most persecuted in Portugal. On March 16, 1564, Inquisitor General Henrique, following a directive from the pope, directed inquisitors in Goa to investigate the prevalence of sodomy in their jurisdiction and incarcerate and chastise the guilty. The order was reiterated in 1589, and in 1634, the king ordered exemplary punishment for sodomites (BNR: mss1352113_053). Sodomy cases saw a rise in seventeenth century Goa. Of eight sodomites condemned in 1650, four were burnt.

Sodomy was difficult to prove, there generally being no witnesses. Many offenders came from female-deprived social groups like garrison soldiers, priests, and slaves. Some like Manuel Fagundes (aged 12, 1644) were clearly victims of older males. Born in Cochin to a Portuguese father and mistico mother, his process contains no sentence (ANTT: PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/CX1577/13661). Manoel Pessoa, a 29-year-old married soldier, arrested for sodomy in 1608, was admonished and set free (ANTT: PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/12787). The promotor appealed to the General Council. In January 1611, it ordered that he be tortured to extract the truth, and sent to the galleys for four years after paying costs if he persisted in denial.

A rare case of two Muslims from the mainland, Exupxa from Belgaum and Meangi from Bijapur, being relaxed for sodomy occurred at the auto-da-fe of June 3, 1612. Having died earlier, Meangi's bones and effigy were burnt. These executions may have been intended to

convey a political message to Bijapur at a time of increasing political tensions. In 1714, Ventagi, a Muslim from Trapor, was sent to the galleys for two years and his property confiscated for the same offence.

The Process of Pe Joao da Costa (ANTT: PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/12197)

Padre Joao da Costa, a Portuguese Capuchin, was the sacristan of the Casa Santa Misericordia when he was arrested in 1670 for the crime of sodomy. A serial sodomite with a long history of abusing young boys, he was handed over to secular justice and executed after an exhaustive trial. Complete details of his process consisting of over 100 neatly written pages are available from a copy dated August 30, 1672. They elucidate the procedures followed by the Inquisition in conducting a case and bringing a criminal to justice.

Pe da Costa, aged 44 years, confessed voluntarily at the meza on May 4, 1666 to sodomising a boy, now dead and whose name he did not remember, 10 or 11 years ago in a convent in Chaul. He had taken the 12-year-old son of the woman who swept the church to the bell tower after mass and made him lie face down on the floor after removing his shorts. He then removed his habit, placed himself on the boy's back, thrust his virile member into his rear opening and spilled his seed inside. He warned the boy not to talk about the matter with anyone. The process repeats this description when recording other instances: Joao Pinto (African servant boy, eight years ago, Convent of Madre de Deos in the City); Diogo (Canarim); Antonio (slave, now dead); Manoel (10 years ago, Convent of Pilar); Domingos da Silva (14, Portuguese, seven years ago).

Pe da Costa's name was entered as serial number 383 in the notebook of sodomites kept in the secreto. This entry was certified and ratified on February 5, 1671 during the trial that arose from denunciations made in 1670 before Inquisitor Francisco Delgado e Mattos, Dellen's judge.

December 10-11, 1670 – denunciations: The first witness, Custodio Figueredo, (13, Brahman, Piedade, Divar), a chapel boy in the Church of Misericordia, was examined on December 10. Pe da Costa had taken him to his bed on Saturday, December 6, removed his shorts, and sodomised him. Custodio was told to sleep in the priest's house on Monday in the company of Joseph, his cook's son. That night, the priest called him to his bed, placed a cushion below his belly, and forced himself on his back. Custodio asked for forgiveness and mercy. His name was entered as serial number 443 in the notebook of sodomites.

The same day, Gabriel de Mello (14, Brahman, Piedade, serial number 446), assistant at the Church of Misericordia, confessed that, having been ordered to sleep at night with Joseph, he had been taken to the priest's bed and sodomised twice. On December 11, 1670, Joao Siqueira (16, Brahman, Piedade, serial number 449) and Manoel Torres (16, City, serial number 453) confessed to a similar pattern of abuse.

December 12 – arrest: Pe da Costa was arrested by meirinho Francisco Miranda. Jailor Paulo Antunes certified his incarceration in the Inquisition's prison. He was allowed to bring his bed and personal articles of use. The inquisitors decided there was enough justification to appoint a promotor and confiscate the priest's assets.

December 20-22 – inventory: The inventory of Pe da Costa's personal property required two sessions. It included clothing, jewellery, contents of boxes and cupboards, and some borrowed money. A name that appears repeatedly is that of the cook Luiza da Silva (Brahman), Joseph's mother. Of 100 xerafins in a bag, 50 belonged to her, as did a gold ring with nine topaz stones. A hat belonged to Joseph. On January 20, 1671, a session was held to elicit the truth about mass stipends and the borrowed money.

January 2, 1671 – a further denunciation: Phelippe (14, serial number 457), an African slave, testified that Pe da Costa had celebrated

the feast of Bom Jesus at his master's house in Piedade three years earlier. That night, he had sodomised him on the veranda.

January 14: Joao Correa Borges was appointed promotor.

January 20 – first session, confession: Admonished by the inquisitors to discharge his conscience, Pe da Costa confessed to sodomising Custodio, Gabriel, Joanico (13), Joao (13), and Joao (14).

February 25 – second session, genealogical details: Baptised in Lisbon, 50-year old Pe Joao da Costa did not remember the ages of his parents, both dead, nor the names of his god parents or priest who baptised him. He remembered being confirmed by the Bishop, his patron. He had no brothers or sisters. He had been expelled from the Capuchin order in Portugal.

March 23 – third session, continuation of confession: Pe da Costa, admitting he had failed to reveal everything, confessed he had abused Custodio 14 to 15 times in the chapel of the Misericordia, and a further three to four times in his house. Joanico, he had abused 12 to 13 times, not just three to four times as stated earlier. Another name cropped up: Pedro (12, Pomburpa).

April 14 – fourth session: Pe da Costa confessed to more victims in 1640, a 12-year-old in a convent in Chaul, and Lourenco. In 1642, in the convent in Pilar, he had sodomised Fr Cherubino de Sao Antonio (Portuguese), and Gregorio. Sent to Ceylon as an assistant in 1648, he travelled to Nagapattinam where he sodomised a 15-year-old boy.

April 17 – fifth session: In Jafnapatam (1648), Pe Da Costa sodomised two boys of the college three to four times. From 1648 to 1650, as the assistant in the Capuchin convent in Colombo, he sodomised Lucas, a Singalese boy. He left for Cochin in December 1650. Here his victim was Fr Augustinho da Santa Monica, a native of Cochin, now dead. Back in Goa in 1651, as a prelate of the Convent of Nossa Senora do Cabo, he sodomised Francisco, and Faustino, a

baker. In 1653, in the Convent of Madre de Dios in the City, he abused Luis (14, tailor, Dauji), and Luis (15, Portuguese). Four to five months later, his victim was another white boy from the College of Reis Magus.

From 1654, he exploited his position as procurator for the province to victimise various boys including Fr Jacinto (16, Portuguese), the son of a doctor employed by the Inquisition. In 1659, as guardian of Pilar convent, he sodomised a white boy whose father was from Ceylon.

He was punished for these crimes in March 1661 in Chaul. Leaving prison in 1663, he went to Surat and Rome despite the impediments and difficulties of the voyage. He was appointed prelate of the government prison on his return to Goa. In 1664, in the Convent of N S do Cabo, he abused Nicolao Rebello from Kanara. He abused more boys when accompanying a merchant on a trip to the North. Expelled from his religious order, he embarked from Daman on the Armada of the Straits. There were other boys: in 1668, Rafael (Canarin); in 1669, Bartholomeo (15, Canarin); a boy (10, name forgotten); in 1670, Manoel, a mistico. He could not recall other incidents.

April 28 – Credit Certificate: Pe Antonio Ferreira, notary, certified that Pe da Costa's confessions and the answers he had given to questions posed had been truthfully recorded and deserved credit.

April 28 – sixth session, a further confession: Pe da Costa admitted to more crimes committed in 1664 in the Convent of Sao Domingos, Daman, when preparing for a voyage to Persia. He remembered Luis (10), but not the others.

June 3 – seventh session: Pe da Costa was questioned on his knowledge of the gravity of the sin of sodomy. He was asked if he knew that carnal relations were forbidden outside matrimony especially among the same sex, whether he had sodomised women, and other details. He was told to confess his sins for the salvation of his soul.

June 23 - eighth session, further examination: Pe da Costa stated he had confessed everything. When asked if he had abused a boy at night on the veranda of his friend's house during a festive occasion three years five months earlier, he replied he did not remember.

June 26 - ninth session, further examination and ratification: The inquisitors told Pe da Costa they had information that about three years earlier, in the house of Antonio Sylveira (Brahman, Pomburpa), he had sodomised his son Simao. His confessions were, therefore, unsatisfactory, and it was most important that he tell the full truth. He was admonished and sent to his cell.

July 3 - tenth and final session, satisfied with all information: More skeletons tumbled out of the closet. Pe da Costa confessed to the incident with Simao, and more acts committed in 1660 and 1663. While returning from Surat to Goa, he had sodomised Francisco and Miguel, aged 13-14 years. In 1665, he had abused Miguel.

July 13 - admonition before the libel (charges): After being admonished by Inquisitor Mattos, Pe da Costa was charged with sodomising various persons of the male sex despite being baptised and under an obligation to obey God's laws. He had put his soul in great danger. He had relapsed despite being warned on May 4, 1666 not to commit the same crime again under pain of severe castigation with the full rigour of the law.

The charge sheet listed numerous acts with various persons without mentioning anyone by name, always referring to the victims as "a certain person of the male sex." It gave details like places and number of times culled out from his confessions. Pe da Costa was declared a relapse deserving extreme punishment.

July 27 - argument for the defence: Procurator Pe Antonio de S Phillepe argued Pe da Costa's case before the senior inquisitor in the

casa do despacho. The argument was rejected as he had confessed to all the articles of the charge sheet.

July 28 – closure: The case was closed by the senior inquisitor.

July 30 – assent: Both inquisitors gave their assent.

August 22 – final conclusion: The process was concluded on August 22, 1671. Seated at the meza were Inquisitor Mattos, Thome Macedo, Fernao Quiros, Fr Francisco da Purificaiao, and Fr Antonio Carvalho. Pe Joao da Costa was declared convicted of the horrendous and abominable crime of sodomy contrary to nature, confessed, wanton, relapsed, a scandal, incorrigible, who deserved to be defrocked according to the sacred canons of the Roman rite, and relaxed to secular justice as one for whom there was no hope. He had incurred infamy and confiscation of his assets.

Pe Joao da Costa was executed in the auto-da-fe of December 10, 1673 (Moreira 1863a: 113).



Chapter Fourteen

Other Offences and Sentences

Islamism

Islamism applied to relations with Muslims that were viewed as detrimental to State and Church. It came in many forms: converting voluntarily or involuntarily, visiting Muslim lands or adopting Islamic customs, selling arms to Muslims, becoming a mercenary, selling Christian women and children to Muslims, marrying them or dressing like one. In 1561, inquisitor Falcao complained that the trade in arms and ammunition (necessary for the “war on Moors”) was very common and damaging to the State as some of it ended up with the “Turks” (da Silva 2018: 111). Such treasonous activity came under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition possibly as a legacy of Church bans on selling arms to Muslims from the time of the Crusades (Baiao 1949: 42-43).

An apostate appresentado was welcomed back into the Church: “When persons who were slaves in the country of the moors were obliged by tortures to adopt the sect of Mahomet, and to take a moorish name and dress, or to perform any of their ceremonies, shall come to the board of the holy office, to entreat for mercy and pardon for their crimes, the inquisitors shall receive them with much charity, and dispatch their cases with all possible expedition...” (*Regimento*,

Book III, Title VII). If his apostasy was only external, he abjured de leve at the meza without wearing the penitential dress. If his confession came after imprisonment, he abjured at an auto-da-fe. If his apostasy was voluntary, he was considered a heretic.

1653: Lopo Fernandes (Sudro, Honavar) and Francisco Abreu (Malabar, barber, Cochin), supplying arms to Muslims, guiding Christian women to their lands; exiled to Ceylon for three years

1703: Pedro (alias Assanagi, 29, bachelor, Bombay), Islamism while in Mangalore; relieved of abjuration, given spiritual instruction

1708: Joao (Daman), reconciled on October 17, 1694, relapse, exiled to Brazil for three years

Blasphemy and related offences

Blasphemers were treated according to the gravity of their offence, their rank, and the place, time, and occasion of speaking. Inquisitors were cautioned that for blasphemy to be proved, it needed to be a repetitive act, and not occasional. Blasphemers were publicly whipped, sentenced to the galleys, or exiled. A frequent blasphemer appeared at an auto-da-fe with mouth gagged. A person of rank was spared public humiliation, being fined and exiled instead.

Obstructing the Inquisition

Affirming that the king had always protected the Inquisition and directed that every possible assistance should be given to its officials, the Inquisition prosecuted anyone who offended, threatened, or intimidated witnesses or informers, destroyed trial documents, resorted to extortion or bribes, or helped criminals escape. Abjuration (de leve) was not necessary if it was proved that the act was committed with a motive other than contempt for the Inquisition.

Officials who impeded the Inquisition's operations and mistreated its officers were treated on par with similar offences against civil authority. The case of an ecclesiastical hindering the Inquisition's operations was referred to the king. Persons dissuading others from converting, aiding and abetting Christians visiting non-Portuguese areas, hiding non-Christian orphans and preventing their baptism, or defying inquisitorial edicts were punished.

1701: 15 non-Christians (Mahim) violating the ban on acting as joshis and parabus; not punished for promising to stop doing so

1702: Vittogy Naique (60, Brahman, Nellur) and his sons Rama Custana (20) and Bascara Naique (27), preventing persons from being baptised; Bascara sent to the polvara, other two not punished being appresentados

1714: Dama Camotim (Brahman, Ilhas), employing Christians to build a temple; fined 500 xerafins

1719: Sibramo Naique (60, Brahman, Bacaim), sent in 1719 to the polvara for sacrificing to the devil, relapse and revealing the Inquisition's secrets; exiled to Anjediva

False witness

False witnesses were punished more severely than in civil courts to discourage any misuse of the Inquisition to target adversaries, and because their testimony condemned innocent persons. False witnesses were publicly whipped and sent to the polvara or galleys after appearing in a public auto-da-fe wearing a sanbenito and carocha. The same punishment was imposed on one inducing another to give false witness. If such testimony related to heresy, both abjured.

1691: Antonio Pimenta (40, Curumbim, Tana, abjured de
vehemente in 1690 for venerating the devil); relapse and giving
false testimony; whipped, galley

Impersonating an officer of the Inquisition

Plebians posing as officials of the Inquisition to extort money were publicly whipped and exiled; persons of rank were exiled. Criminals were forced to restore the money extorted, doubled in most cases, to the aggrieved party. Persons blackmailing others by threatening to falsely denounce them were also punished; so too officials who acted in the name of the Inquisition for personal motives.

1664: Antaporbu (Brahman, Talegao), posing as the commissar's representative and extorting 100 pardaos; prison and polvara

1727: Manoel Henriques (sergeant, Daman), arresting persons in the name of the Inquisition and extorting money; exiled

Escaping from prison and not fulfilling penances imposed

An escapee would be publicly whipped. A person helping him was prosecuted for impeding the Inquisition. Persons who did not undergo penances were punished with imprisonment and exile, and performed additional penances in public so as to mitigate the scandal they had caused.

Bigamy

A bigamist who believed it was lawful for a Christian to have more than one wife was considered a formal heretic and punished as such. If he said he had married a second time for other reasons, he was interrogated, sometimes under torture, to elicit his true beliefs.

A bigamist was not proceeded against until investigations confirmed both marriages were contracted as per law, and that the first spouse was alive when the second marriage was contracted. Confessions were verified against marriage certificates or witness testimony. A bigamist abjured de leve. If he had induced witnesses to testify falsely in regard to his first marriage, he abjured de vehementer. A plebian bigamist was publicly whipped through the streets and sent to the galleys. A person of rank was exiled.

1650: 30 bigamists were punished, the largest number in a single auto-da-fe

1708: Joao Magalhaco (Portuguese, 28, Daman), bigamy; polvara, Diu. His second wife Bay (16), keeping idols at home; polvara

Of the absent and insane

In Portugal, great care was taken in summoning an absentee person. The notice was attached to the door of his house, the dwellers and neighbours were informed, and announcements made at the parish church. Signatures of witnesses were also taken. An absconding heretic could have his effigy burned and property confiscated. He could appeal his sentence if he appeared later and satisfactorily explained his absence.

A person displaying symptoms of madness was carefully observed by a doctor and proceeded against only if he was declared sane.

Worshipping dead persons who were not saints

Venerating a dead person who was not a saint was harshly reprimanded and the images and relics confiscated. A relapse was exiled. Imposters pretending to have revelations from heaven and performing miracles were punished.

Revoking a confession legally made

Revoking a confession legally made was treated differently depending on the circumstances of the revocation. A heretic who did so some time after it was legally made was relaxed to secular justice as an impenitent negative. A confession made under torture and revoked within 24 hours entailed further torture.

Diminutos

A diminuto was one whose confession was inadequate. He could be punished again if this was found out at a later date.

1771: Francisco Pontes (30, Sudro, Assonora) and Diogo de Sousa (31, Sudro, Assonora), abjured em forma for gentilidade in 1765 and 1766, judged diminuto in earlier confessions; whipped, imprisoned, penitential dress, carocha, seclusion in a convent, polvara

Leniency

Appresentados were treated leniently. In 1653, Lourenco Correa (Ethiopian), Muno (slave, Curumbim, Ilhas), Bento Gracia (soldier, Zanzibar), Manoel de Ponte (Portuguese Cristaos-Novos, soldier), and Francisco (cafre, Mombasa) who had converted to Islam after being taken prisoners abjured de leve and were not punished. Three of them were appresentados. Jorge de Souza (Ethiopian, soldier), for the same offence and for denying the existence of hell, was exiled to Ceylon. In 1703, two sisters Udry (46, Bandarim, Agacaim, North) and Cuguy (45), both widows, were convicted of making invocations, offerings, and sacrifices to the devil. Udry, being an appresentado, was let off without any punishment; Cuguy was whipped and sent to the polvara.

Punishments

Punishments were intended to correct deviants as well as to intimidate and deter others. The performance of an imposed penance was an acknowledgement of the prisoner's guilt and the Inquisition's sense of justice. Punishments varied and depended on age, gender, occupation, social, and religious status. Clergymen, for instance, received different punishments for sodomy and apostasy. Cristaos-Novos were more likely to be executed and imprisoned while Old Christians were whipped, exiled, and sent to the galleys. Imprisonment was usually for a few months and rarely for more than three years in the case of a repentant prisoner. Life sentences could last a decade. Prisoners in Portugal were often allowed to leave during the day and return at night (Kamen 1997: 201). A galley sentence usually involved manual slave labour in the dockyard. An exile was sent to another town or country. Banishment, less common, removed the convicted from family, friends, and jobs. Secular and Inquisitional courts coordinated exile, polvara, and galley- sentencing to strategically meet the king's needs (Coates 2002: 27-8), thereby accomplishing the goals of the State and the Inquisition simultaneously.



	Number	Source	Remark
1561-1599	1,502	Figueira	compiled 150 years before inventory (1,243, page 24)
1600-1699	8,905	Inventory	derived from year-wise comparisons (page 24)
1700-1774	5,082	Inventory (3,783)/ autos-da-fe (4,684)	auto-da-fe plus Inventory additional 398
Private autos-da-fe	1,242	Moreira/ ANTT	includes post - 1774
On appeal	8	Inventory	
Incomplete	2,247	Inventory	
Total	18,986		

Period-wise process numbers



18,986

Chapter Fifteen

The Numbers

There is no single document or source that gives an accurate number of persons investigated by Goa's Inquisition. We can at best make a reasonable estimate by putting together available details from different sources and eliminating errors. For instance, Moriera duplicates the same list of 85 names but under different years: August 18, 1754 and August 18, 1756 (Moreira 1863a: 405-411, 419-425). Compilation of data from various sources gives us a total number of 18,986 persons investigated in the 252 years that the Inquisition operated. Taking into account lost documents, the actual number is likely to be somewhat higher.

Comparison of 1774 Inventory numbers with auto-da-fe lists

The Inventory lists 16,185 names. It gives year-wise details for the eighteenth century, but not for the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries. In general, persons are listed alphabetically according to their first names. In some cases, further details like caste, religion, and nationality are affixed but they are the odd exception.

The number compiled from eighteenth century auto-da-fe lists (clearly more accurate) exceed those given in the Inventory by 901.

Year	Inventory	Auto-da-fe
1700	41	70
1701	128	104
1702	67	123
1703	8	56
1704	6	
1705	85	69
1706-10	33	218
1711	80	107
1712	87	66
1713	12	67
1714	60	63
1715	44	80
1716	149	150
1717	4	123
1718	132	112
1719	133	92
1720-25	79	448
1726	68	130
1727	51	93
1728	66	110
1729	47	211
1730	-	99
1731	48	-
1732	134	216
1733	201	196
1734	133	136
1736	141	83

Year	Inventory	Auto-da-fe
1737	65	
1738	58	-
1741	44	45
1742	25	25
1744	33	36
1745	43	42
1747	40	44
1749	45	45
1750	69	70
1752	63	64
1753	66	62
1754	79	85
1755	67	69
1757	78	79
1758	55	55
1761		64
1762	63	
1763	76	69
1764	85	88
1765	71	62
1766	94	87
1768	97	79
1769	82	76
1771	97	91
1773	156	125
1774	95	
Total	3,783	4,684

Year-wise comparison of Inventory and auto-da-fe numbers

Discrepancies have crept in for various reasons.

1766: The auto-da-fe list was signed in February 1767 by promotor Joze Antonio Ribeiro da Motta, a signatory to the 1774 Inventory. It lists 87 names and is written with great care and style. Yet it contains clerical mistakes. Serial number 63 is given to an offence not a person, while 64 is repeated. The Inventory lists 94 names with process files being packed in six bundles (A-C, D-G, J, L-M, N-P, R-X). Serial number 55 has been repeated, and a few names differ.

1745: There are four copies of the December 5, 1745 auto-da-fe list, all signed by promotor Guilhelmo Rosario on January 6, 1747, but handwritten by at least two different persons. The Inventory process files were packed in two bundles (A-J and L-V numbered 1-23 and 24-39). Two additional files were added to each bundle but not given a serial number. Therefore, the number in the Inventory is 43, not 39.

1730: The auto-da-fe lists 99 persons; the Inventory, nil.

1729: There were two autos-da-fe (May and December) featuring 211 persons. The Inventory gives only 47 names upto the letter J except for one Maria.

1728: The Inventory does not list names after J; there are many differences in names.

1727: The names are very different with no matches.

1726: The Inventory does not list most of the names in private autos-da-fe (10), and names from A to G.

1720-25: Clubbed together in the Inventory, there is a shortfall of 369 names.

1706-10: The Inventory combines these years into one total (33) which is much less than the auto-da-fe total (218).

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jesus P. Guerra Salazar".

The seventeenth and sixteenth century lists

The Inventory does not give year-wise details for these centuries. Documents were moved during the Maratha invasion, and also, it is reasonable to assume, during the renovations and maintenance of the Sabayo Palace resulting in mixing up and loss of files. For instance, the auto-da-fe of 1651 lists 14 members of the Braganca family of Mapusa (Chapter 19). "Diogo de Braganca de Mapusa" appears as serial number 79 in pack 22 of the Inventory, and six others in packs 61 and 62. It is difficult to trace the others.

Two names from Chapter 20: O Pe Fr Ephraim de Nevers (Masso 60, 5) and Charles Dellen (Masso 150, 39). Both names are mis-spelt (Frem, Carlos de Lon). Consequently, they appear in different places in the Inventory of 1774

Mass. 6°

1 ≡ Grand' Nibelle

2 ≡ Grand' P. 2

3 ≡ Grand' Dies

4 ≡ Grand' Zaro

5 ≡ O. & Gr. Grand de Nivres

6 ≡ Ille na Caisa mouno

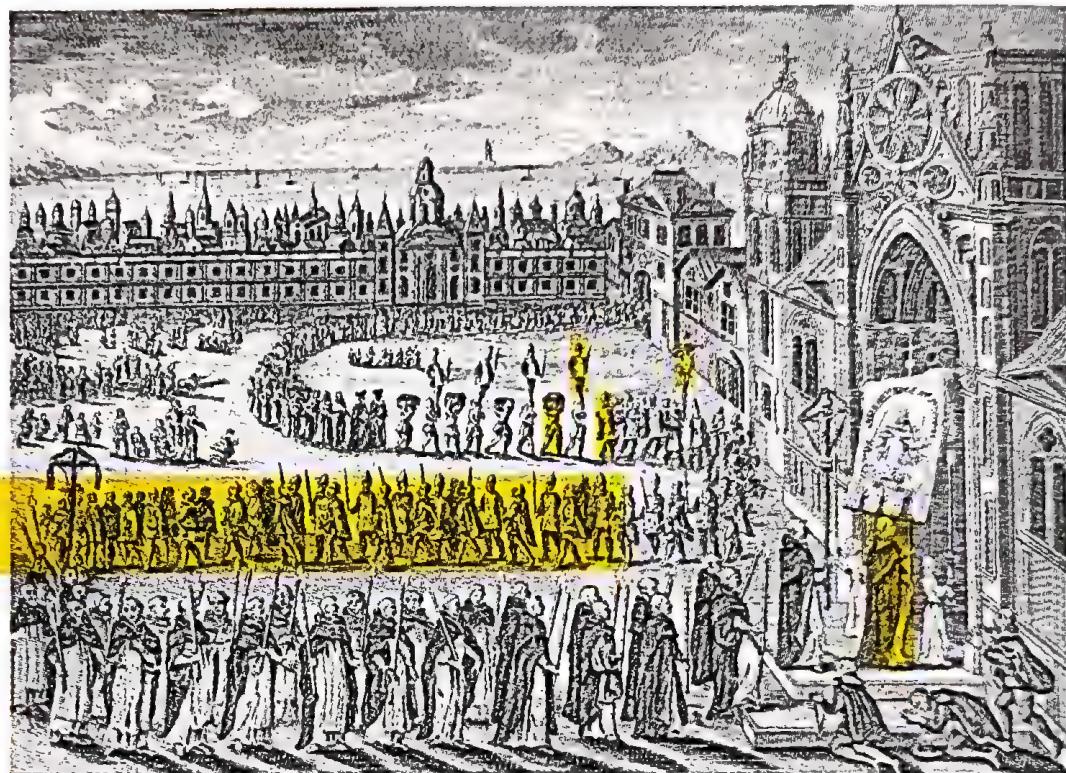
7 ≡ Ille na Caisa Ourives

8 ≡ Illeus Gr. de Nave

38 ≡ Dax Marc 8°

39 ≡ Carlos de Leon Branczy

40 ≡ Bas de 1°



**A Dominican monk holding the banner of the
Inquisition leads the procession of the auto-da-fe.**

The prisoners, each in the custody of a familiare, walk behind the monks with the least guilty in front. Those wearing the fogo revolto follow. Behind the cross, walk those destined to be burned. Behind them, men carry the effigies of the condemned, and the bones of the dead in large boxes.

Chapter Sixteen

The auto-da-fe lists

The term auto-da-fe literally means “act of faith”. It highlights the central theme of an auto-da-fe: the abjuration and reconciliation of a heretic who had been automatically excommunicated when taken into custody. In the literature of the Inquisition, the auto-da-fe is associated with the grand public display which a Spanish inquisitor termed “horrendum ac tremendum spectaculum”. The ceremony was, despite the many shades of cruelty, vengefulness, and horror attributed to it, a very public demonstration of the Inquisition’s ability to bring a wayward Christian back to the Church’s bosom. At the auto-da-fe of February 7, 1627 celebrated at the Terreiro do Sabayo, the inquisitor boasted that though it was the grandest held in India (with 131 prisoners out of 300 prosecuted in the past two years), just two had been relaxed as relapses (Baiao 1945: 276). The Augustinian priest delivering the sermon at Dellow’s auto-da-fe compared the Inquisition to Noah’s ark into which wolves and lions entered fierce and wild and returned to the world mild and meek as lambs.

The public auto-da-fe followed an ordered and richly repetitive ritual intended to awe and intimidate, to subdue and humiliate. It was given wide publicity and drew large crowds. The foremost religious and

civil authorities participated in it. By exposing a prisoner's sins and its consequences to the public gaze, it created a sense of fear among onlookers. It was termed a celebration, a ceremony of triumph of the Inquisition's vigilance. It was held inside or against the backdrop of the premier church or building to reinforce the statement of power and authority. The stage plan had three main areas. Prisoners occupied 'benches of infamy', inquisitors and guests sat opposite on 'benches of honour'. Prisoners approached the place of their sentencing barefooted and bare-headed with candles, clothed in the paraphernalia of shame (sanbenito, carocha) (Benthencourt 1992).

Depending on the status of the prisoner and nature of offence, abjurations were made in public or private. Of the more than 1,000 sentences listed by Figueira for the period 1585–1605, 373 abjurations were made at the episcopal see, 289 at the meza, 124 in church, and 128 in public. The process of rehabilitation was complete only after the penitent had undergone the prescribed penance. It was considered a necessary cleansing process that demonstrated a penitent's sincerity and his acknowledgement of the justice and mercy of the inquisitor.

The auto-da-fe in Goa

The public auto-da-fe was usually celebrated on a Sunday. The largest number were held in the hall of the Sabayo Palace or the Se Cathedral. It was also held on the Terreiro do Sabayo (1650, 1651), in the Churches of St Augustine (1653), St Francis (1652), Convent of Santa Monica (1687) in Old Goa, and in Aldona (1646), Penha de Franca (1656), Jua (1656), Assolna (1686), Cunculim (1694), and other places.

Construction of the Se Cathedral was commenced in 1562, the main body completed in 1619, and the altars in 1652.



sanbenito



sanbenito



samara fogo revolto



samara

The person wearing the samara does not carry a lighted taper signifying the symbolic passing from the darkness of heresy to the light offered by reconciliation

Dellan describes the ceremony of the auto-da-fe of 1676 in which he participated. He was woken up around midnight by the jailor and given a lamp and a set of clothes to wear. These consisted of a pair of pants and an upper garment, both black with striped white lines signifying grief and repentance. At around 2 am, the prisoners were lined up against a long gallery in an order corresponding to the severity of their crimes. Silence pressed heavy on the proceedings. Those who had confessed and were ready to abjure their crimes wore the sanbenito over their black and white dress. Those convicted of crimes of heresy, sorcery, bigamy, and blasphemy wore in addition the carocha with the words denoting their offence painted on it. All carried an unlighted taper and a rope around their necks.

Those destined for the fire were confined to another room. They wore the samara, a garment similar to the sanbenito but black and painted with flames enveloping the heretic's face and dancing devils prancing around. The carocha had more devils and flames. These condemned persons spent their last hours in the company of priests seeking the salvation of their souls. There was a variant of the samara for relapses who had confessed after sentence was pronounced: the *fogo revolto* in which the flames pointed downwards. It signified they had been spared the fire this time, but were on notice.

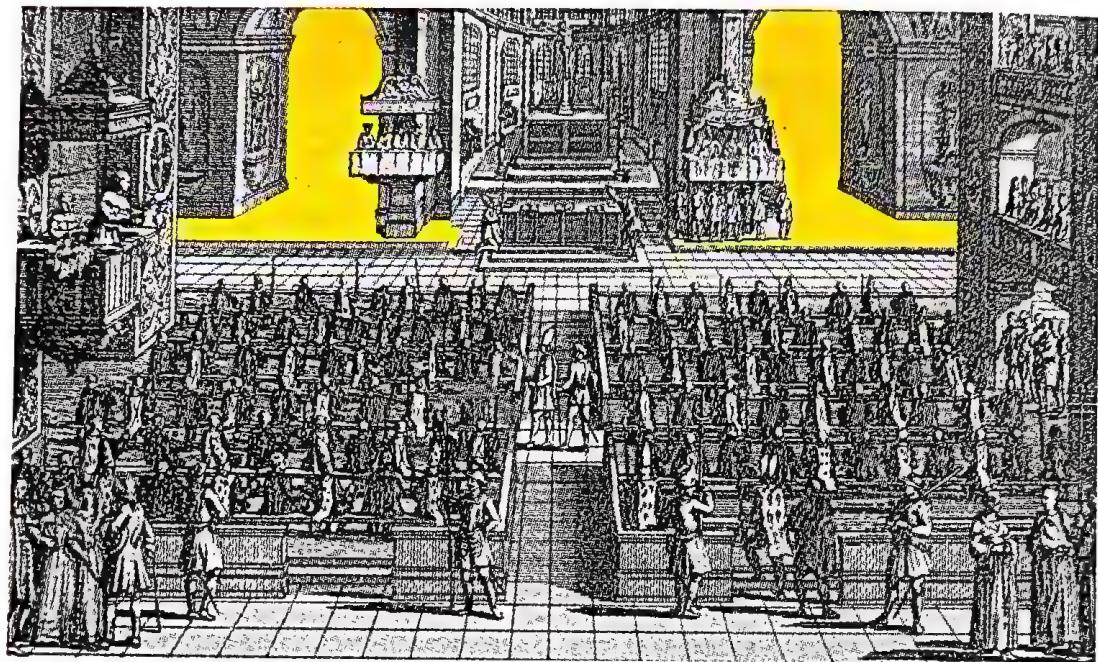
The tolling of the cathedral bell at sunrise announced the beginning of the auto-da-fe. The prisoners filed out, each guarded by a familiare. Two familiares led the procession with Dominican monks carrying the banner of the Inquisition aloft following. The least guilty walked in front, those relaxed to secular justice at the rear. They included effigies and bones carried in boxes of those who had died or were beyond the reach of the Inquisition. A large crucifix held high separated the two: Christ faced those to be reconciled, his back turned on those relaxed.

The procession wound round the City's densely populated main streets for about an hour, and past the palaces of the viceroy and archbishop. Paving stones cut into bare feet as the prisoners walked on the Rua Direita, under the Arch of the Viceroy, on the road parallel to the River Mandovi, then east and past the Chapel of St Catherine to the place of the auto-da-fe (Abreu 1866: 150). An alternate route would have taken them past the churches of the Misericordia and Bom Jesus.

The sermon was a forceful reiteration of the Inquisition's unrelenting war on heresy. Jews were a particular target of condemnation. The Archbishop of Cranganor began his sermon (Lisbon, 1705) against them with fire and venom: "Oh! Degraded remnants of Judaism, unhappy fragments of the Synagogue! the last spoil of Judea! opprobrium of the Catholics! abhorrence and laughing stock of your fellow Jews, it is to you I address myself, ye misguided men!" (The Archbishop...1845).

The abjurations and sentencing followed. Each prisoner was brought forward carrying an extinguished taper to a missal placed in the middle of the main aisle. After abjuring his heresy and reciting the confession of faith, he was absolved from excommunication and reconciled to the Church. His taper was then lit signifying his return from the darkness of heresy to the light of redemption.

The ceremony was long. Hunger pangs were alleviated by bread and figs distributed earlier in the prison. Finally, those relaxed to secular authority were brought forward. They received a slight blow on their breast signifying their abandonment. The execution was not carried out on a Sunday. The stakes were lit on the Campo Sao Lazaro, an open ground beside a lake outside the City. The condemned were accompanied to the stake by two Jesuits who continuously urged them to save their souls by repenting and dying well. The fire burnt their bodies to ash, the wind blew and scattered them across the water. Thus was their infamy as heretics forever erased.



**The church ceremony: the sermon, abjurations,
and relaxing to secular authority**

The memory of an auto-da-fe lived in the public memory for a long time. The visible presence of penitents slaving in the City's galleys and polvaras was a constant reminder of the danger of falling into error. An observant Dr Fryer wrote: "As we rowed by the Powder-Mills, we saw several the Holy Office had branded with the names of Fetisceroes, or Charmers, or in English, Wizards, released thence to work here; known by a Yellow Cape, Weed, or Garment, like our City poor Pensioners, sleeveless, with an Hole for their Neck only having a Red Cross before and behind" (Fryer 1698: 155).

The lists

At least 176 public autos-da-fe were held in Goa between 1562 and 1774. Lists of convicted persons were routinely sent to Lisbon. The hand-written sheets followed a prescribed format. The heading gave details of the date and place. Each entry gave details such as the name of the offender, sometimes aliases or pre-conversion name, age, caste, profession, nationality, relation to others, nature of offence, place of birth, and current place of residence. Punishments were listed in the right column. Men were listed first, then women.

Persons were listed under various categories according to the severity of their crimes:

- defunctos absolutas da instancia (absolved by death)
- pessoas absoluta da instancia (persons absolved)
- pessoas infieis (persons not of the Faith)
- pessoas que nao abjurao (persons not required to abjure)
- pessoas pella nefando (persons committing the nefarious crime- sodomy)
- abjuracao de leve (abjuration for light suspicion of heresy)
- abjuracao de vehemente (abjuration for vehement suspicion)
- abjuracao em forma (formal abjuration)
- defunctos reconciliados (reconciled after death)

- defunctos recebidos (received dead)
- defuncto no carcere (died in prison)
- relaxados em carne (relaxed- burnt in the flesh)
- relaxados em statua (relaxed- burnt in effigy)

The Public Auto-da-fe Statistics

	Dates	Persons	Burnt in flesh	Burnt in effigy	Source/ comments
1	1562 Sep 20				Figueira Reportorio
2	1562 Nov 15				Figueira Reportorio
3	1563 Jun 27				Figueira Reportorio
4	1563 Sep 12				Figueira Reportorio
5	1564 Oct 27				Figueira Reportorio
6	1565 Aug 19				Figueira Reportorio
7	1565 Dec 23				Figueira Reportorio
8	1566 Feb 10				Figueira Reportorio
9	1566 Dec 22				Figueira Reportorio
10	1567 Jun 15				Figueira Reportorio
11	1568 Jan 18				Figueira Reportorio
12	1568 Apr 4				Figueira Reportorio
13	1568 Nov 7				Figueira Reportorio
14	1569 Jul 17				Figueira Reportorio
15	1571 Apr 22				Figueira Reportorio
16	1572 Oct 12				Figueira Reportorio
17	1574 May 18				Figueira Reportorio
18	1575 Sep 4				Figueira Reportorio
19	1576 Oct 28				Figueira Reportorio
20	1577 Sep 1				Figueira Reportorio

21	1578 Aug 17				Figueira Reportorio
22	1579 Sep 6				Figueira Reportorio
23	1580 Dec 4				Figueira Reportorio
24	1581 Nov 2				Figueira Reportorio
25	1582 Oct 14				Figueira Reportorio
26	1585 Nov 10				Figueira Reportorio
27	1587 Sep 13				Figueira Reportorio
28	1596 Dec 8				Figueira Reportorio
29	1605 Jan 30				Figueira Reportorio
30	1606 Nov 19				Figueira Reportorio
31	1607 Dec 9				Figueira Reportorio
32	1610 Oct 17				Figueira Reportorio
33	1612 Jun 3				Figueira Reportorio
34	1618 Nov 18				Figueira Reportorio
35	1623 Dec 10				Figueira Reportorio
1562-1623		3,441	86	44	
36	1624				Moreira
37	1627 Feb 7				Moreira
38	1627 Apr 26				Baiao 1945:277
39	1630 Feb				Baiao 1945:277
40	1631 Nov 27				Process Antonio de Paiva
41	1634 Mar 5				BNR mss1352113_058
42	1634 May 5				Baiao 1945:277
43	1635 Aug 26				Moreira
44	1635 Nov 3/4				Baiao 1945:277
45	1636 Aug 16				Adler 1908:145
46	1637				Baiao 1945:277
47	1639 Feb 27				Baiao 1945:277
48	1640 Mar 14	167	1		Moreira
49	1641 Nov 8				Process Joao Machado
50	1644 Sep 4				Moreira

51	1646 Apr 01					auto-da-fe 1666 sl no 93
52	1650 Apr 3/4	184	7	8		auto-da-fe
53	1651 Dec 3	144	1			auto-da-fe
54	1652 Apr 21	41				auto-da-fe
55	1653 Dec 14	221	4	4		auto-da-fe
56	1654 Mar 27					Adler 1908:148
57	1655 Dec 19					Moreira
58	1656 Apr 9					Moreira
59	1656 May 11					Moreira
60	1656 Oct 15					Moreira
61	1657 Mar 16					Moreira
62	1657 Oct 21					Moreira
63	1658 Oct 6					Moreira
64	1658 Dec 15					Adler 1908:148
65	1660 Mar 14	167	1			auto-da-fe
66	1662 Mar 26					Moreira
67	1664 Mar 26					Moreira
68	1664 Dec 7	266	1	3		auto-da-fe
69	1665 Feb 25					Moreira
70	1666 Apr 11	138		1		auto-da-fe
71	1666 May 10					Moreira
72	1666 Dec 7			1		Baiao 1945:278
73	1667 Dec 18	153	2	2		Moreira
74	1669 Feb 24	155	3	2		Moreira
75	1670 Jan 19	142	4	1		Moreira
76	1671 Jan 25	142		2		Moreira
77	1672 Mar 27					Baiao 1945:277
78	1673 Dec 10	124	5			Moreira
79	1676 Jan 12	120	2	4		Moreira; Baiao (Dellon)
80	1681 Mar 2					Moreira
81	1683 Jan 10	127				Moreira

Chapter 16: The auto-da-fe lists

82	1685 Dec 9	106			Moreira
83	1686 Jul 21	111			auto-da-fe (Assolna)
84	1687 Jan 19	71			Moreira
85	1688 Mar 28	58			Moreira
86	1689 Mar 27	59			auto-da-fe
87	1689 Dec 11	43			auto-da-fe
88	1690 Oct 8	61			auto-da-fe
89	1691 Sep 30	70			auto-da-fe
90	1691 Nov 1				Moreira
91	1693 Nov 1	67			auto-da-fe
92	1694 Jun 15	80			auto-da-fe (Cuncolim)
93	1694 Oct 17	60	1		auto-da-fe
94	1695 Oct 16	54			auto-da-fe
95	1697 Apr 21	56			auto-da-fe
96	1697 Nov 3	77	2		auto-da-fe
97	1698 Dec 14	80	5	1	auto-da-fe
98	1699 Jul 19	46			auto-da-fe (Jua)
99	1700 Mar 28	70			auto-da-fe
100	1701 Feb 20	38			auto-da-fe
101	1701 Sep 4	66		4	Moreira
102	1702 Apr 2	58			auto-da-fe
103	1702 Nov 19	65		2	auto-da-fe
104	1703 Nov 18	56			auto-da-fe
105	1705 May 24	32			auto-da-fe
106	1705 Nov 15	37			auto-da-fe
107	1707 May 29	56			auto-da-fe
108	1708 Jun 17	47			auto-da-fe
109	1709 Jun 9	66			auto-da-fe
110	1710 Jun 22	49			auto-da-fe
111	1711 Nov 22	107	1	3	auto-da-fe
112	1712 Dec 4	66	1	7	auto-da-fe

113	1713 Oct 8	67		4		auto-da-fe
114	1714 Nov 11	63				auto-da-fe
115	1715 Oct 27	80		5		auto-da-fe
116	1716 Jun 7	73				auto-da-fe
117	1716 Dec 13	77	1			auto-da-fe
118	1717 Sep 5	123				auto-da-fe
119	1718 Jun 19					Adler 1908:150
120	1718 Oct 2	112	1			auto-da-fe
121	1719 Jun 1	92				auto-da-fe
122	1719 Sep 15					auto-da-fe 1736 Jan 15
123	1720 Feb 4	89				auto-da-fe
124	1721 Mar 16	90				auto-da-fe
125	1722 Mar 15					Moreira
126	1722 Nov 25					Moreira
127	1723 Nov 14	78				auto-da-fe
128	1725 Mar 4	73				auto-da-fe
129	1725 Oct 11					Baiao 945:285
130	1725 Nov 11	118		1		auto-da-fe
131	1726 Nov 17	130				auto-da-fe
132	1727 Nov 23	93	1	1		auto-da-fe
133	1728 Sep 26	110	2			auto-da-fe
134	1729 May 8	83				auto-da-fe
135	1729 Dec 11	128		1		auto-da-fe
136	1730 Nov 26	99		3		auto-da-fe
137	1731	48				Inventory
138	1732 Jan 13	80		1		Moreira
139	1732 Dec 14	136	4			Moreira
140	1733 Jan 3					Moreira
141	1733 Jun 21	102	2			Moreira
142	1733 Dec 13	94	1	1		auto-da-fe 1736 Jan 15
143	1734 Sep 5	136	1			Moreira

Chapter 16: The auto-da-fe lists

144	1736 Jan 15	83	1	1	Moreira (Pe Constantino)
145	1736 Aug 16				Moreira
146	1736 Dec 30				Moreira
147	1737	65			Inventory
148	1738 Jan 19				Moreira
149	1741 Dec 17	45	1	2	Moreira
150	1742 Dec 23	25	4		Moreira
151	1744 Jan 19	36			Moreira
152	1745 Dec 5	42	2	1	auto-da-fe
153	1747 Dec 10	44		1	Moreira
154	1749 Mar 23	45	1		auto-da-fe 1750
155	1750 Dec 6	70		1	auto-da-fe 1750
156	1752 Jan 9	64			Moreira
157	1753 May 12	62	1	3	Moreira
158	1754 Aug 18	85			Moreira
159	1755 May 27				Baiao 1945:287
160	1755 Aug 18				Baiao 1945:287
161	1755 Dec 14	69	1	3	Moreira
162	1757 May 15				Moreira
163	1758 May 15				Baiao 1945:287
164	1758 Nov 12	55	6	1	Moreira
165	1761 Feb 1	64	3	1	Moreira
166	1762	63			Inventory
167	1763 May 29	69	5	1	Moreira
168	1764 May 13	88	2	2	Moreira
169	1765 Mar 17	62		8	Moreira
170	1766 Sep 25	87	1	1	auto-da-fe
171	1768 Feb 1				Baiao 1945:287
172	1768 May 29	85	1	4	Moreira
173	1769 May 7	76	1	4	Moreira
174	1771 Feb 3	91	1	4	Moreira

175	1773 Feb 7	125	3	5	Moreira
176	1774	95			Inventory

The available auto-da-fe lists from 1640 to 1773 give names of 8,075 persons prosecuted (men: 5,985; women 2,090). Of these, 91 were burned physically and 113 in effigy. Additionally, the names of 1,232 persons who were sentenced in private autos-da-fe are known. After the Inquisition was re-instated, all autos-da-fe were held in private. The last public auto-da-fe took place on April 24, 1774 (Moreira 1863a: 496).





Chapter Seventeen

The First Six Decades: 1561-1623

Joao Delgado Figueira (c. 1585-1654) arrived in Goa in January 1618 as a deputy and promotor of the Inquisition, and became an inquisitor between 1625 and 1633. In 1626, the Inquisitor General gave Figueira a pension of 40,000 reis for his services to Goa's Inquisition as promotor and deputy (ANTT, Inquisicao de Lisboa, Maco 87, Doc. 83). On his return to Portugal, he was appointed inquisitor in Evora, and in 1641, in Lisbon.

Figueira compiled a 651-folio report detailing 3,800 cases involving 3,441 persons investigated between 1561 and 1623 (BNP: Codex 203). It gives details of autos-da-fe celebrated, names of those relaxed, ecclesiastics judged, notable cases, and gender-wise and year-wise alphabetical lists of the dispatched. Some persons were prosecuted for more than one offence. For instance, Diogo Peixoto, a mestico, had been exiled in 1562 to Ceylon for five years for incest, bigamy, and contempt. Two years later, he was arrested for not complying with the order of exile, and marrying for the fourth time. He was sent to the galleys after a period of seclusion in a monastery. Cases like Diogo's complicate the statistics (da Silva 2018).

The numbers

In the first 40 years, 431 persons, (27% of the entire number), were convicted for Islamism, and 284 (18%) for Judaism.

	1561-1570	1571-1580	1581-1590	1591-1600	Total	1601-1610	1611-1620	Total
Islamism	104	82	94	151	431	36	154	621
Judaism	55	188	27	14	284	12	8	304
Bigamy	24	4	9	17	54	48	44	146
Heresy	27	50	46	104	227	82	123	432
Lutherism	17	8	4	6	35	5	10	50
Gentilidade	13	32	56	193	294	661	574	1,529
Hindering Inquisition	51	66	38	67	222	86	67	375
Others	2	4	4	1	11			11
Sodomy			6	18	24	36	50	110
Total	293	434	284	571	1,582	966	1,030	3,578

Year-wise offence statistics 1561-1620

(da Silva 2018, compiled from *Reportorio*)

Captives and slaves accounted for a relatively higher proportion of those convicted of Islamism. Joao Coelho, son of a Turkish father and an Armenian Christian mother, a captive, had been a gunsmith in the Turkish galleys in Cairo. Reconciled at the auto-da-fe of August 11, 1562, he was imprisoned and instructed in the faith. He was not permitted to leave the kingdom without the inquisitor's clearance.

Antonio Camacho (1565, 1569, Old Christian, Lisbon), a schoolmaster married to a widow, Ana Covas, was convicted of bigamy for marrying Joana Machado, a mestico. He was banished to the galleys for three

years, and ordered to return to his first wife. He did not, and fled Goa. He was punished again under a new name, Calir, and a new crime, Islamism. This time he received a six-year term in the galleys. Lopo Alvares (1594), a merchant from Santa Luzia, Ilhas, was severely reprimanded and ordered not to commit the same crime again. It is not clear what that crime was, but Lopo's profession would suggest he had some business dealings across the border.

The faces of the condemned

Isabel Mendes (ANTT: PT-TT-TSO/IL/28/12792; PT-TT-TSO/IL/28/12792-1), a Cristaos-Novos from Madeira, was denounced for resorting to Jewish practices by her Bengali slave Joanna Nunes. Joanna may have had strong motivation. The law stipulated that a Christian slave would be freed if his master was condemned for heresy. Isabel was first arrested on October 6, 1573 and appeared in the auto-da-fe of September 1, 1577. She abjured em forma, was imprisoned, sentenced to wear the fogo revolt samara perpetually, and pay costs. Her husband, Manuel, a surgeon, was burnt at the stake. Isabel was just 30 years old.

Five years later, her son, Gabriel, was prosecuted for crypto-Judaism. On April 5, 1603, Isabel was arrested again as a relapse. She spent the next two years in prison wrestling with tormenting thoughts in her confined cell. Perhaps she saw Manuel's ghost wandering the dark corridors of her prison seeking her. She could not call out to him; silence was rigidly enforced. She was sentenced at the meza on January 13, 1605, and her case file was sent to Lisbon for review. It took three years. Tragically for her, the General Council suspected that she had bribed her jailors. She was burned as an impenitent relapse.

Isaac Almosnino's file was transferred from Goa to the General Council in Lisbon as there was a case of double identity. A Jew born in Morocco, he was also known as Manuel Lopes, a Cristaos-Novos

born in Porto. His process lists him as a Jew aged 45, practising as a doctor in Goa. He was married to a Jew, and spoke Portuguese, Hebrew, Arabic, Castilian, Chaldean, and a little Italian and French.

Isaac was imprisoned on January 24, 1617, accused of Judaism and blasphemy. He was exiled to Africa in a private auto-da-fe on August 11, 1621. He sailed with Abraham, his brother, on October 12, 1621. Abraham, 34, single, convicted for blasphemy, was a merchant from Hormuz where he resided at the home of the Persian ambassador.

Garcia da Orta (Pandya 2012; da Costa 2012)

Perhaps the most famous Cristaos-Novos prosecuted by the Inquisition was Garcia da Orta, a physician and naturalist, born about 1501 in Portugal. His father had migrated to Portugal from Spain in 1492. The family was forcibly baptised in the mass conversions of 1497. Garcia studied arts, philosophy, and medicine in Spain and returned to Portugal in 1523, two years after his father died.

Garcia spent the next few years in Lisbon's University. In 1534, he sailed for Goa with his patron Martim Affonso da Souza, the governor from 1542-45. The governor bypassed laws prohibiting Cristaos-Novos from emigrating by appointing him royal physician.

Garcia established a lucrative practice as a physician in India. His social circle included sailors and merchants who provided him with exotic commodities like precious stones, botanical samples, and information (Couto 2020). His intellectual circle included gentio physicians and men like Isaac do Cairo and the influential Persian merchant Kwaja Pir Kuli who lived in Goa. He accompanied Martim da Souza on his many tours and studied botany, geography, ethnography, languages, and Indian diseases. He became a close friend of the poet Camoes after his return from exile in Macau in 1561, and a friend of Sultan Burhan of Ahmadnagar (Sewell 2001: 51).

Garcia grew medicinal herbs in his garden and traded in medicines, jewels and precious stones. As a physician to Viceroy Pedro Mascarenhas (1544-55), he was granted a long lease on the island of Bombay at a rent of Rs. 537 per annum. He eventually recorded his extensive knowledge in his book, *Colloquios dos Simples e Drogas da India*, dedicated to Viceroy Coutinho. Garcia's book was the third to be printed in Goa (1563) in India's first printing press. It discussed a number of subjects including medicine.

Garcia and his family preserved an appearance of strict Roman Catholic orthodoxy especially after 1560. A few months after his death in 1568, his brother-in-law told the inquisitors that Garcia believed in the Law of Moses and celebrated Yom Kippur. Many of his relatives in Portugal, including his mother and two sisters, were arrested, interrogated and imprisoned for short periods. In Goa, his sister Catharina (55), wife of a Cristaos-Novos merchant, was arrested on October 28, 1568, and executed in the auto-da-fe of October 25, 1569 (ANTT: PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/01283).

Garcia was buried wrapped in a clean white linen sheet borrowed from his neighbours, a custom followed in Jewish burials. On December 4, 1580, on the basis of Catarina's denunciation (which she had revoked during her trial), the Inquisition condemned Garcia as a heretic, disinterred his bones, and burnt them in an auto-da-fe.



Neste maco estão Copias de
Sentenças de algumas pessoas
que foram despachadas na In-
quisição de Goa cujos Nomes
sao os seguintes —

Nº 938

LISBONA

Alberto Homem Almeida	fl 55.
Bras Pereira	fl 13
Bernardo Serra clérigo	fl 31
Balthazar Freire	fl 51
Catherina Leitão	fl 13
Diogo Fernandez	fl 1
Dom Antonio Pamies	fl 41
Exupéia Moura	fl 37
Francisco de Noronha	fl 9
Francisco Goncalves	fl 29
João de Vilaadi	fl 19
Jorge Cordero de Mendoza	fl 49
José Balthazar	fl 53
Isabel Mendes	fl 14
Juanne Cayeiro da Grãm	fl 27
Meangi Moura	fl 39

1632

List from ANTT: PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/04938

1632

Chapter Eighteen

The Transfers of 1632

The ANTT contains two packs of papers put together in 1632. One numbered PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/04938 gives details of sentences imposed on some defendants; the other, PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/04941, names persons whose case summaries were transferred to Lisbon.

ANTT: PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/04938

This bundle contains copies of sentences of 16 defendants. We have encountered Exupxa and Meangi (Chapter 13) who were relaxed in 1612 along with Antonio Ramirez and Francisco Goncalves.

Bras Pereira, a naique and meirinho, was denounced at the casa do despacho for intimidation and extortion on November 23, 1609 by Adao Alvares (Brahman, 32). Judged guilty, Pereira heard his sentence at the December 12, 1610 auto-da-fe bare-headed and with a lighted candle in his hands. He was given 50 lashes of the whip and ordered to restore all the money he had extorted before being sent to the galleys for eight years.

Francisco Noronha (Brahman, Sirula) had abjured de leve on February 21, 1599 for visiting temples, being known by a gentile name, offering coconuts to idols, and crossing the border to perform gentile

rites. Circa 1610, being convicted as a relapse for heresy and apostasy, he absconded. His effigy was burned.

Pe Bernardo Serrao (36, Old Christian, mestico, Chaul) was burnt in the auto-da-fe of October 16, 1612 for sodomy. Condemned on January 17, 1612, his case had been referred to Lisbon. His property and all benefits of his office were confiscated by the royal treasury. He was defrocked before being handed over to secular justice with the pious plea that he be executed without the effusion of blood.

Lisuarte Caeiro da Gram, an Old Christian judge born in Portugal, ran afoul of the Inquisition because he had participated at night in gentile ceremonies offering coconuts, roosters, and prayers to idols. He was convicted of causing great scandal. He abjured de vehementer in the chapel and was given many penances.

Others were relaxed and burnt for various offences: Alberto, a German soldier, for sodomy in 1616; Baltazar Fernandes, nicknamed "the Count", a Cristaos-Novos resident of Cochin, for heresy and apostasy; Joao Valada, baptised Old Christian from Holland for Calvinism; Catarina Leitao, born in Lisbon, for relapsing into Judaism; Joao Balhester, born in Sardinia, for converting to Islam; Jorge Mendonca, Old Christian from Braga and a relapsed heretic, for living in Bijapur from c.1591 as a Muslim, dressing as one, using a Muslim name, and praying in mosques; Diogo Fernandes, an Old Christian from Braga, for heresy and apostasy.

ANTT: PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/04941

The pack contains transfers and notes relating to cases dating from 1593. Two relate to Pe Bernardo Serrao and Bras Pereira, and three to high profile individuals, Viceroy Matias Albuquerque (1596- 1597), Captain Vicencio Bune (a treasury official and administrator of jails), and Archbishop Mar Abraham of Angamale (1596).

LISBOA Neste Maco ha culpas contra²
 N 4941 - as pessoas Seguintes

Antonio de Melo de Castro	542.	Jeremino Mendes	56	Vincenzo de Brum
Antonio Serra	57.	Isabel Sainer	57.	2-109-
Antonio Nunez Gallego	58.	Joann Madoz	57	
Antonio Lopez	59.	Isabel Luis	58	
Antonio de Almeida	59.	Joao Carrias	61	Tristao de Bairros
Alvaro Gomez	61.			
Antonio Leitao	99-121.	Leonor Lopez	58	1632
Gaspar Marabala	28	Luiz Mendes	58	
Bernardo Serra	57.	Luis Henriquez de Morcino	60	
Balthazar Mendes	57.	Luis Gomez	61	
Bras Pereira	77.			
Diego de Albuquerque	55	Mathias de Albuquerque	2	
Dinis Fregoso	57	Marabala de Freitas	28	
Diego Lopez de Royna	60	Manoel Albuquerque	55	
Domingos Lopez	60	Manoel Seara	57	
Domingos Gte Schiavador	73	Maria de Mesquita	57	
Duarte Namallo Bettolo	127	Maria Nunez	57	
Filhos de	55	Manoel Frz	60	
Filhos de Domingos Lopez	60	Mother de Frz Mendes	56	
Filhos de Manoel Frz	60	Mother de Luis Mendes	58	
Feliciano de Salomao	56	Mother de Luis Lopez	59	
Francisco de Valmea	55.	Mother de Frei de Oliveira	59	
Fernando Mendes Seara	56	Mother de Manoel Frz	60	
Francisco Serra	57	Mother de Domingos Lopez	60	
Francisco Nunez	58	Pedro Fernandes	57	
Francisco Lopez	58			
Fernando Mendes	59	Salvador de Valmea	56.	
Francisco Pires de Faria	65	Simao Gomez	61.	
Frei Pedro de Sampaio N ^o 119		Sogra de Frz Mendes	58	
Gencalo Gomez	59.			
Henrique da Costa	55			



Matias Albuquerque, distantly related to Affonso Albuquerque, left for India aged 19 in 1566. He took part in many campaigns and was appointed to important posts before he became viceroy for two successive terms from 1591 to 1597. A highlight of his term was the siege of Chaul in 1593 in which Morro, a strategic promontory, was captured. He was an inveterate enemy of the descendants of Vasco da Gama, one of whom Francisco da Gama, succeeded him as viceroy. He was arrested on his return to Portugal and accused of corruption and other misdeeds, charges of which he finally cleared himself before his death in 1609.

A complaint was recorded against him for an angry outburst against Inquisitor Antonio Barros who had sent Antonio Pinto, meirinho, to remind him of the bad state of disrepair of the prisons and the urgent need for funds on June 17, 1596. The document includes the testimony of Antonio Pinto and Heronimo Brito, deputy and promotor. Another complaint was recorded on December 15, 1597. Estavao Vaz Ratao, a 41-year-old Portuguese, swore before Inquisitor Marcos Gil that he had intelligence of certain incidents involving Albuquerque obtained through an investigation he had made in 1593 at Diu at the Inquisition's behest.

Albuquerque clearly had powerful enemies. Taken down with him was Vincencio Bune. The pack includes a 65-page denunciation made against him by 14-year-old Joao Morais, Albuquerque's page boy, for sodomy in September 1596, and testimony from others as well.

There is an 18-page inquiry into the Nestorian heresies of Mar Abraham Archbishop of the Saint Thomas Christians commissioned by Inquisitor Antonio Barros in April 1596.

On November 8, 1606, Antonio Peixoto, a meirinho of the Inquisition, was summoned to the meza in connection with a petition from Gorgua, a gentio goldsmith who lived next to the Hospital for the Poor in the

City. Eighty-year-old Gorgua had much credit and standing in the City. He petitioned the Inquisition for justice in regard to mistreatment and gross abuse he had suffered at the hands of Peixoto. The case involved a gold chain which Antonio had appropriated after physically assaulting Gorgua's 10-year-old slave boy, Pedro. The case was heard by Inquisitors Jorge Ferreira and Goncalo da Silva, promotor Antonio Pereira and notary Tristaos Barros. Testimonies were taken down from Antonio's naiques, Joao Siqueira and Joao Fernandes, his page Manoel Pezada, and Pedro. The transfer letter was dated November 12, 1608.

Antonio had more problems. On October 22, 1610, he and Tristao Barros were denounced by Manoel Matos, a familiare aged 37 years. The charge involved Cristaos-Novos, violence, the death of a native Christian, misuse of office, and false documentation. There were many witnesses. Peixoto was suspended, and his case transferred to Lisbon where his suspension was revoked on March 27, 1612 with a strict injunction to maintain absolute secrecy on the proceedings at the meza (BNR: mss1312884_092, mss1318877_126).

The pack contains transfer documents of cases relating to Antonio de Melo Castro, (Old Christian, fidalgo, denounced 1593), Fr Pedro de Santa Maria (1614), Domingos Gonsalves, solicitor (1594), Duarte Botelho, Vicar General of the Archbishopric of Goa (1597), Francisco Carvalho (1602) and some others. All of them belonged to privileged sections of society.

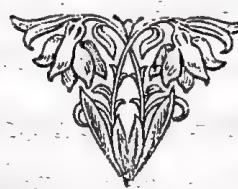
Castro's case illustrates the care taken in trials concerning important persons. The papers contain testimonies from a number of persons recorded over more than a year: Bastiao Dias (March 1, 1593), Vicente Souza (March 24, November 22, 1593), Nicolao Fernandes (March 24, December 2, 1593), Francisco Vieyra (March 29, 1593), Joao Gonsalves (June 3, 1594), Joao Roiz and Antonio da Silva (September 26, 1594). Two witnesses were recalled for further questioning before the case

was transferred to Lisbon. It was reviewed by the General Council on January 11, 1595.

Fr Pedro de Santa Maria, an Augustinian, was investigated on September 15, 1614 in connection with the sacrament of confession made by Maria Monte. The papers, which include testimony from Fr Sebastiao de Santa Monica, were transferred on January 15, 1615.

Transferred to Lisbon in 1608 were details of denunciations made by Damiao Alvares against over 40 Cristaos-Novos in France and Portugal, some from the same family. A Cristaos-Novos reconciled by Goa's Inquisition, he came from Braganca. That one man could implicate so many others is testimony of the Inquisition's effective methods.

More cases against Cristaos-Novos were transferred in 1609.



de 1650 ate 1651

Chapter Nineteen

The autos-da-fe of 1650-51

A total of 385 persons were sentenced in two public and many private autos-da-fe during 1650 and 1651. An analysis of these persons and their offences leaves us with an insight of how inquisitors viewed and countered the threats confronting Catholicism in the Estado during that period.

The auto-da-fe of 1650 (184 persons) was celebrated on April 4 at the Terreiro do Sabayo in the presence of Viceroy Philippe Mascarenhas. That of 1651 (144 persons) was celebrated on December 3 at the same venue. The private autos-da-fe (57 persons) took place at the meza (ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-CG-014-0033.00001_m0073-92; ..._m0049-70; ..._m0037-47; PT-TT-TSO-CG-1032_m0038-48_derivada).

Mascarenhas, viceroy from 1645 to 1651, died on his way back to Portugal. During his term, as the Dutch onslaught accelerated to its climax, Goa's economy declined sharply. Within 15 years, Portugal lost many of its overseas possessions. While the territory lost was small, forts with small surrounding area in most cases, it formed important links in its global trading network. The loss had disastrous consequences for the Estado's economy. Tavernier, who visited Goa in 1641 and again in 1648, observed that people who had considerable

Lista das peffias, que sebirão no Auto da Fei, que
se celebrarão no Terreiro do Sabado della Cidade
de Goa, Domingo, e Segunda feira, dias, e
noite de Abril de 1630.

37

Presente o V. Rey Dom Philippe Mascarenhas.
Sendo Jnd. Gral. ouor. Bp. Comfr. de Castro.
Desfultos absoludos da Inolucção.

Indictos. Testemunhos. Puniç.

41. 1. Antonio Roiz Torres, x. n. é mourisco, morador, nat. de la Cidade de Lisb., em "1^o fei nella feira, reconciliado no auto de 1645. prego 2^o res. por seguir da concorre da Pe. ribeira.

38. 2. Antonio de Tavora bragu. nat. garca, em "1^o fei em fálgas, terras de Bandes, por suspeita de gentilhidade, e iniurias que fez desde cesta por auor. amuzgado.

85. 3. Diego de Tavora, emperio Domemquebe, bragu., nat. em "1^o fei em fálgas, terras de Bandes, reconciliado no auto de 1637. prego 2^o res. por cuscas de reloquia, e de afrontar sua feira sua concorre por auor. amuzgado.

50. 4. Tomás Pereira Barroso, nat. em "1^o fei na fort. de Onor, emaig. della, por gentilhidades, e ofícios.



Peffias Inffias.

45. 5. Pergue naig. gentio calviro, nat. g. ar. em "1^o em Anjara terras de Bandes, por exercitar suas gentilhides em rebus tr.º induzir a gestas rejas? nemamente conuictos, e se fizerem g.º terras de infias a uniu. gentio, exercitar as officias, e g.º fom.º prender nella s.º officio. Auto. ex. m.º g.º aya de sua.

45. 6. Gonçalo Ribeiro bandarim, gentio, nat. de Bacaim lesima, e m.º bandalal, pacaia d'arlem, capit. delle Astrolas de Bacaim, por fator, e cabeca de gentilhidades nas rebus tr.º, e amotinar, e coruclar gente para offendore, emelhancen. Auto. es. g.º aya de sua das lugars de arre de ond. onde mais nello

List of 1650 auto-da-fe.

incomes during his first visit came to him begging for money secretly at night during his second.

The social unrest caused by this economic downturn is reflected in the Inquisition's heightened activity. This was the time when the most spectacular autos-da-fe were held, and the average number of persons sentenced annually doubled to 166 (1640 – 1666) from 88 (1640 – 1773).

The viceroy represented the king in Goa. His presence reinforced the State's role in an auto-da-fe and underlined the ongoing power play in Lisbon. Castro, having earlier observed that before Portugal was united with Spain in 1580 all matters relating to the Inquisition were directly handled by the king, had been actively undercutting all intermediate channels of communication. Mascarenhas's presence meant that details of the auto-da-fe and the Inquisition's active role in protecting Portugal's interests reached the king through a very direct channel.

Gentilidade	97
Converting to Islam	77
Sorcery/ consulting sorcerers	37
Bigamy	29
Reconverting to ancestral religion	28
Heresy	18
Offences related to Islam	5
Non-Christians	15

Impeding the Inquisition	15
False testimony	15
Judaism	6
Blasphemy	6
Sodomy	5
Others	11
Absolved	3
Received dead	2
Relaxed	16
Total	385

Offences relating to the 385 prosecutions

Gentilidade

Of the 97 Christians convicted for gentilidade, 28, as revealed by their pre-conversion names, were converts.

Sentenced in 1651 were 16 Charodo ganvkars from the Braganca family of Mapusa. The principal actor was 65-year-old Manoel Braganca (Zagadde Gaunco), convicted of being a dogmatic sorcerer in a pact with the devil whom he invoked. The obliging devil entered his body and gave solutions to heal his patients. He was whipped and imprisoned, wore the sanbenito (perpetual) and carocha, spent a year in seclusion, and five years in a convent in Rachol fort. He was permanently exiled from Bardes. For a man who would have been a septuagenarian at the time of his release, it would have been a terrible punishment never to be with his family and community again and die among his own. The inquisitors viewed it differently. Manoel's exile deprived the family of its primary inspiration and font of traditional wisdom. The other Bragancas were: Antonio (Narano, 37 years old), Manoel (Mono, 38), Joao (42), Diogo (30), Joao (32), Bras (32), Ventura (25), Luis (Dare Gaunco, 47), Pedro (20), Antonio (Nare Gaunco, 60), Jeronimo (50). Four women married into the Braganca clan were also sentenced: Manoel's wife Maria (Rukmini, 40, Revora), Joanna (Sonay, 50, Panjim, widow of another Manoel), Anna Loba (30, Aldona, Manoel's wife), Izabel Mendes (30, Nellur, Diogo's wife).

The 1653 auto-da-fe featured Luis and Simao Braganca. The former, an appresentado, received a prison term. The latter had secretly taken his minor Christian girls across the border. He abjured em forma wearing the sanbenito, was whipped, imprisoned, and sent to the polvara for three years. Paschoal Braganca was received dead in 1712. The Bragancas of Mapusa made a final appearance close to 70 years later; Hyeronimo was received dead in 1720.

Nineteen women from Jua, mainly appresentadas, wore the sanbenito at the auto-da-fe and abjured em forma. No men were involved. This collective guilt may have had something to do with a pre-Christian festival or rite involving women alone.

Reconversion to the ancestral religion

Twenty-eight persons were convicted of reconverting to their pre-conversion religion. Miguel de Souza (Brahman, 27, Saligao) was also guilty of resisting arrest, and Joao Mendonca (Brahman, 28, Saligao) for consulting a sorcerer and obstructing the Inquisition.

Goncalo Magalhau (native, 30, Daman) was imprisoned for reconverting to his ancestral religion while in the Estado and then converting to Islam in Muslim lands. Luis Abreu (Cario Malu Pai, Brahman, 70, Verna) had been relaxed in effigy in 1645 for reconverting. An appresentado in 1651, he was imprisoned and wore the fogo revolto samara.

Sorcery

The 37 persons sentenced for sorcery or for consulting sorcerers included Indians, Portuguese, misticos, Singalese, and Africans. Antonio Machado (Ramanaiq, Charado, 50, Siolim), convicted of sorcery in 1637, was a relapse guilty of reconverting and participating in temple festivals during which the deity entered his body. He was whipped, imprisoned, and exiled from Bardes. Isabel Alvares (mistica, 70, Colombo, widow) and her daughter Magdalene Gonsalvez, (25, widow), for casting spells to cure or kill people, were whipped and sent to Mombasa for 10 years, and were never to return to Ceylon.

Conversion to and offences related to Islam

A surprisingly high 20% of penitents were sentenced for conversion to Islam and another one percent for other offences related to Islam. If there is one statistic that highlights the great upheaval that the

Estado was passing through, it is this. About a third, many of them European, had converted to Islam while they were prisoners in Arabia or neighbouring Indian States. It is a telling testimony of the continual wars plaguing the Estado.

Islam offered converts upward social mobility depending on their merit and loyalty to the adopted religion. The badge of conversion opened many doors for advancement besides alleviating the travails of being held prisoner in a foreign land.

Slaves (African, Indian, Asian) who had crossed over to Muslim lands constituted a large percentage of converts to Islam. They presented inquisitors with a dilemma. Justice for abandoning the faith demanded severe punishment, but mercy and political expediency required a show of leniency as an incentive for renegades wishing to return. The inquisitors, therefore, usually imposed only spiritual penances on first time offenders while requiring them to abjure publicly in a church. The Church of St Francis was the venue for such a ceremony on March 27, 1651.

Bernardo Correa (Sicily, 25), an appresentado confessing to being a prisoner of the Turks in Constantinople for four years, was reprimanded before being absolved of excommunication. Gregorio Vieira (Portuguese, 26, Chaul), for converting while a captive in Muslim lands, was given spiritual penances. Fr Paulo Chagas (30, Portuguese, Augustinian) had converted to Islam while travelling through Muslim lands. He abjured em forma in the hall of the Sabayo Palace dressed in the sanbenito. Most likely the ceremony was conducted before other clergymen because his crime had caused much public scandal. He was given spiritual penances. Antonio Fernandes, a fisherman from Nelur, Bardes, an assistant in Arabia, was sent to the galleys for four years for converting to Islam.

Judaism

All those convicted of Judaism were Cristaos-Novos. Manoel Rebello (místico, Mozambique) confessed to desecrating the crucifix and consulting sorcerers, and was suspected of Judaism because of his words. Jorge Montoya (Portuguese, Macau) was sentenced to prison, the perpetual wearing of the sanbenito, and to the polvara at Ceylon for three years. Manoel Fernandes (Lisbon, morisco), being pertinacious, obstinate, and in denial, was burnt.

Hindering the Inquisition

Joao Sanches da Silva (Portuguese) had been exiled to Mombasa for perturbing the ministry of the Inquisition, disobeying its orders, revealing its secrets, denigrating it, and not performing his penances. Being guilty of continuing in the same fashion, he was sentenced, rather surprisingly, to six years in the polvara at Muscat; Muscat had fallen earlier that year. For similar offences, Manoel Pereira (20, Portuguese, Cranganor fort) was exiled to Jafnapatam. Joao Almeida (26, místico, Cristaos-Novos) for speaking ill of the Inquisition and uttering words that gave rise to suspicion of heresy, was sent to Ceylon. Fourteen years later, being beyond the reach of the Inquisition in the city of Aspao, his effigy was burnt in the auto-da-fe of 1664 for converting to Islam. He was labelled convicted and in denial, rebellious and contumacious. Jorge (Malabar, slave) was whipped and sent to the polvara for obstructing the Inquisition in apprehending a certain person.

Manoel da Costa (Brahman, 31, Saligao) threatened persons who had made denunciations to the Inquisition and committed other excesses which the inquisitors did not look upon kindly. He was whipped and imprisoned, and made to wear the sanbenito perpetually.

False Testimony

False testimony most often related to cases of bigamy. Joao Barboza and Augustinho Moraes (Persian, Hormuz/ City) were sentenced for inducing Francisco Almeida (Curumbim, terra firme) to give false testimony in a case of bigamy. Antonio da Costa and four others from Majorda, for falsely denouncing certain persons, received galley terms ranging from five to seven years. Francisco Luis was additionally made to recompense the aggrieved party a sum of 100 xerafins.

Heresy

Persons convicted of heresy were mostly Europeans. Two well-known cases were those of the French priest Pe Ephraim and the Spaniard Pe Matheus Cebrian. Four Portuguese Dominicans were rebuked at the meza for committing scandalous errors of the Faith. Guilhelmo de Ayley from Southampton abjured em forma for relapsing to Protestantism, Paulo (Charodo, Orlim) was imprisoned for becoming a Protestant at the English factory at Coddvale, and Manoel Roiz and Manoel Barboza were reprimanded for associating with English heretics. A Danish surgeon Joao Pedro, convicted earlier by the Roman Inquisition for Lutheranism, was exiled to Mozambique, and a Parisian resident in Macau, Francisco Velloy, to Portugal. A Portuguese seaman Manoel daCosta and a Frenchman Luis Fino were imprisoned for relations with Dutch Calvinists. Dona Isabel Vasconcellos (mistica, Nagapattinam), for marrying a Danish heretic and for other offences committed in the company of heretics during a war, was banned from entering Tranquebar where the crime was committed. She was 21 years of age.

Blasphemy

Salvador Michales, a Maltese surgeon, was exiled to Ceylon for blasphemy, sorcery, necromancy, being in league with the demon,

and a partial conviction of sodomy. Luis Boto/da Silva (38, Cortalim/Chaul, Brahman) was sent to the galleys for seven years as a relapse (1639), and additionally for bigamy and Islamism. Ruy Quadrado (místico, Daman) was fined 100 xerafins and sent to the armada; Assenco Figueiria (Singalese, Colombo) was gagged, whipped, and sent to Jafnapatam.

Bigamy

Salvador de Souza (25, Brahman, kulachari, Aldona) was sent to the galleys for seven years. Sentenced along with him were Andre de Souza (40) and Antonio da Silva (30), Brahmans from Aldona, and Matheus Constantino (Brahman, Divar) for giving false testimony in his case. Andre, an appresentado, was let off without punishment. Antonio was sent to Daman's polvara for three years, and Matheus who had induced the others to give false testimony, for five.

Joao de Souza (43, apothecary) was whipped and exiled to Barcelor for marrying Martha Almeida when her husband, Luis Jorge, a surgeon, was still alive. Martha was sent to Daman. Joao Dias (místico), soldier in the armada of the South, was exiled to Ceylon for falsely testifying in the case.

Dom Joao (Ceylon), unlike other bigamists who abjured de leve, abjured em forma because he was also convicted of sorcery, being in league with the devil, and departing from the Catholic faith. He was imprisoned, sent to the galleys for seven years, and exiled. Gomes da Silva (washerman) had, during the Dutch wars, participated in heretical rites, and eaten meat on prohibited days. He abjured de vehementer and was sent to Muscat.

Constanca Miranda (38, Brahman, Província do Norte) had married Bras Henriques. It was her third marriage. Having abjured de leve in 1638, she now abjured de vehementer and was sent to Ceylon for eight years to cool her ardour.

Sodomy

Fourteen-year-old Manoel Henriques, son of Isabel Roiz, a Portuguese from Coimbra, was admonished and given spiritual penances. His age and sentence suggest he was the victim of older men. Three other lads aged 17 and 18 from Portugal and Macau, were sent to Chaul or Ceylon. Lourenco Carvalho, who confessed after he was imprisoned, was whipped and sent to the galleys.

Four sodomites were burnt: Antonio (Ceylon, captive), Lazaro (Malabar), Miguel Gonsalvez (Diu), a relapse from 1641, and Diogo Dias, a Portuguese knight of the military orders.

Non-Christians

Fifteen gentios, four percent of the total, were sentenced in this auto-da-fe. Purque Naik (Anjuna), for gentilidade, inducing Christians to reconvert and emigrate, and resisting arrest was whipped and sent to the polvara for four years. Gono Rauto (Bandarim) and Babuji (Parabu) from Bacaim for gentilidade, instigating mutiny, mistreating Catholic priests, and preventing orphans from being baptised were whipped and exiled.

Bagai (goldsmith, 50, widow, City) for performing gentile rites, visiting temples, building an in-house shrine, and effecting cures through superstition was whipped and exiled. Dugu and Purso Gaddu (Charodo, ganvkars, Majorda/City) were exiled from Ilhas for two years for frequenting Santa Luzia in the company of Christians to perform gentile rites. Their wives Devay and Bagai were sent to the polvara.

Narna Pai (60, ganvkar, Verna) took four Christians across the border to serve him there. He was whipped and sent to the polvara until such time the Christians returned. Banassy and Pilually (Thane) were rebuked at the meza for accompanying their father's corpse to the cremation ground.

Others

Antonio Sedenho (místico) was sent to Ceylon and permanently exiled from the City for publishing stories that endangered souls. Bartolomeo Mendes was punished for founding a new sect and Manoel Simoes for living indoors with his family as gentiles.

Eighty-five-year-old Diogo Tavora (Dame Prabhu, Brahman, Saligao), reconciled in 1637, prevented his wife Anna from receiving communion. Anna was admonished at the meza. Two other Tavoras from Saligao feature in this auto-da-fe. Antonio (38) was involved in the incident concerning communion, and Simao (30, ganvkar) had reconverted. He died before his sentence and is listed as reconciled by death.

Economic distress plunged vulnerable sections of society into dire straits. Linschoten comments Indian parents commonly sold their children in their struggle for survival. The inquisitors were more concerned that the children were Christian. Leonor Locumay (50, Charodo, widow, Siolim) for selling her Christian daughter for a measure of rice and half a length of cloth to a temple across the border was whipped and exiled to Daman. Domingas Fernandez (22, Siolim, Sudra) and Magdalena (Ramay, 35, widow, Cuncolim) were whipped and sent to the polvara for selling Christian children to gentios.

Relaxed

Eight persons were burnt at the stake, seven in effigy, while one, Joao Roiz (fisherman, Salcete), a sorcerer, died in prison before the sentence was executed. Two of the executed, Salvador Vaz (28, pariah, Nagapattinam, Chaul) and Miguel Gonsalvez (38, Gujarati, Diu) were relapses from 1645 and 1641 respectively. Marcos Lobo (Malusinay, 38, Colvale) was burnt for reconvertig and for sorcery, and Manoel Fernandes (55, morisco, Lisbon) for Judaism. Pedro Albuquerque (1651),

a salt dealer from Anjuna, was burnt as a relapse into gentilidade. A year later, his widow, Maria Jaque (55) was imprisoned for gentilidade.

Antonio de Souza (26, mouro, sailor, Chaul), Luis Mesquita (30, Portuguese), and Francisco de Sousa Cordova (Portuguese, Bengal), renegades beyond reach in Muslim lands, were burnt in effigy. Four Brahmans, also beyond reach, were burnt in effigy for reconvertting: Paulo (Madu Sinay, Pirna), Andre (Vetu Sinay, Pirna), Domingos Coelho (Krishna Sinay, Pilerne), Maria Rebella (Rucuminy, w/o Domingos Coelho).

Absolved

Qhemaji (gentio, Norte), Catharina Mascarenhas (Charodo, Majorda), and Antonio Roiz Torres were absolved. Torres, jailed in 1645, had escaped from prison. He died before he was sentenced and was considered to have paid his debt with his death.

Reflections

The 1650-51 autos are the earliest notarized and complete auto-da-fe lists available in the ANTT. They date to a time before the intensification of the naval and military confrontations with the Dutch and the Marathas. The most complete details we have before them are contained in Figueira's *Reportorio* which ends with the year 1623. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Inquisition's focus shifted from containing the influence of Cristaos-Novas to the consolidation of the Christian identity of converts. It was the period when the king sent repeated instructions to the viceroy to complete the renovations to the Sabayo Palace.

These autos-da-fe lists therefore contain important insights into how the Inquisition attempted to consolidate the Christian identity of the Estado, impose a code of social discipline on its subjects, and

protect it from detrimental influences emanating from within and outside its borders.

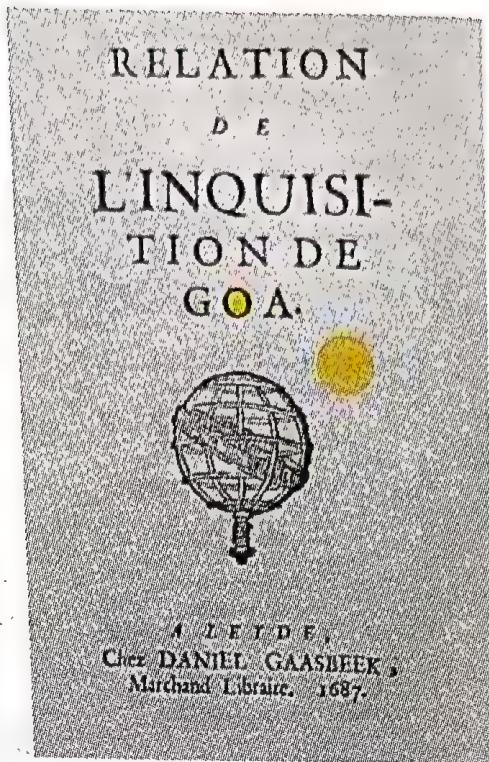
Briefly, gentilidade and sorcery had moved to the top of the list with over a third of cases. Many offenders were new converts who could not give up traditional practices. A significant 8% of converts were punished for reconverting. The message to the inquisitors was stark and clear: in the face of extreme adversity, the faith of converts in the Christian God was rapidly evaporating. They had to act firmly yet not drive others away. Non-Christians who instigated Christians to abandon their new faith were publicly shamed and removed from society by exile or spells in the polvara. Those who hindered it or gave false testimony (thereby discrediting its judgements) were punished.

Islam-related offences still remained a concern. About a third, many of them European, had converted to Islam while they were prisoners in Muslim-ruled lands. It is telling testimony of the continual wars plaguing the Estado. Similar threats were being faced from rival European powers seeking to displace Portugal in Asia. The Estado brought the Inquisition into its armoury, employing it to investigate individuals from rival countries and judge them according to heresy laws.

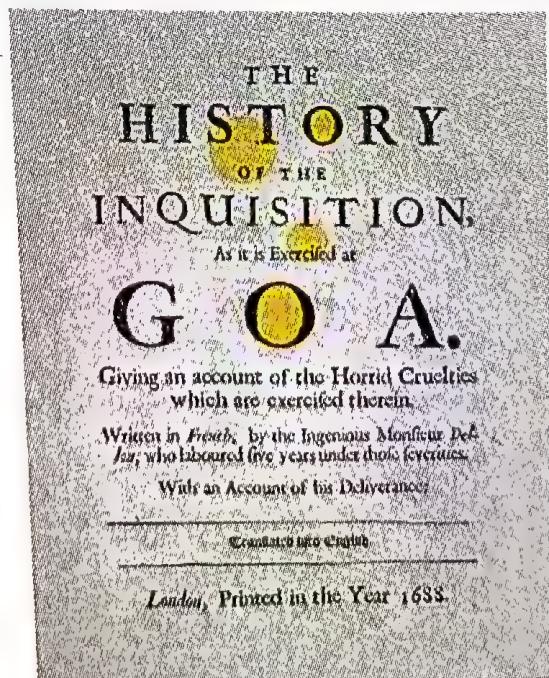
These wars had caused severe economic distress to the Estado. It plunged vulnerable sections of society into the depths of despair in their struggle to keep body and soul together. Inquisitors sought to limit the extent to which they could go in this extreme situation. Simultaneously, it strived to impose a measure of social disciplining by punishing bigamists (9% of cases) and sodomites.

Judaism had practically disappeared from the Inquisition's radar.

Executions were still a powerful deterrent. Of note is that half of those relaxed were beyond the reach of the Inquisition. It shows its limitations in apprehending offenders.



The 1687 Dutch edition of Della's *Relation de L'Inquisition de Goa* and the 1688 English translated edition. The latter's explicit description of the book's contents shows how it was used to add to the Black Legend within a year after its first edition.





Chapter Twenty

Dillon, Ephrem, and a Forgery

Goa was an important link in the commercial chain binding Indian Ocean ports together. Its capture by Albuquerque multiplied its global trade. It became a magnet for foreign merchants and spies seeking all kinds of information of value to their countries and companies. Travellers like Linschoten, Mocquet, Pyrard, Lockyer, and Hamilton produced valuable tomes that helped rival European countries plan their strategy to grab a share of the riches of the East. The influx of Dutch and English visitors from the end of the sixteenth century drew the Inquisition into investigating their credentials as suspected spies and securing Portugal's commercial interests (de Souza 2017).

France enters the fray

The cases of two Frenchmen, Pe Ephrem de Nevers (1650) and Charles Dillon (1676), show how the Inquisition used heresy laws to investigate and attempt to thwart an increasingly assertive French presence in India (Ames 2009). Much of this complex interplay is lost in the motivated portrayal of such cases in simplistic terms of religious fanaticism and bigotry. Rather, it clearly illustrate the Inquisition's symbiotic relationship with the State enunciated by Diogo do Couto in 1612: "The Kings of Portugal always aimed in this conquest of the

East at so uniting the two powers, spiritual and temporal, that one should never be exercised without the other."

As Portugal's dominance of the European economic and religious presence in coastal Asia began to crumble from the beginning of the seventeenth century, it became increasingly involved in a cut-throat geo-political and economic contest with The Netherlands, England, and France. English (East India Company, 1600, EIC) and Dutch (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, 1602, VOC) trading companies introduced a religious element to their economic and military challenge by offering freedom of religion in the territories they operated in. This was particularly effective in drawing artisans and merchants from the Provincia do Norte to Bombay after 1665.

Within the Catholic fold, the founding of the Propaganda Fide (1622) by the pope challenged the dominance of Portugal's Padroado Real. The Capuchins, an offshoot of the Franciscans, were active in the Propaganda Fide. They established themselves in Surat in 1639. Their superior, Ambroise of Preuilly, played a significant role in the French trading factory, the Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales (1664).

Three major French fleets (30 ships and 4,000 men) sailed to India between 1665 and 1670 at a cost of more than 5,000,000 livres (Ames, 2009). The Estado, economically weakened and impoverished by decades of rivalry with the Dutch, had nothing to counter this impressive display of naval might. It is in this context that the Inquisition, the most impressive and feared institution of European religious power in Asia throughout the seventeenth century, became a credible instrument in Portugal's policy. A key element of this strategy was to extend the confrontation into the religious realm, and send out a cautionary warning that any challenge to Portugal's interests would be resisted with all means available.

O Pe Frei Ephrem de Nevers (1650)

Pe Ephraim, born to a distinguished family in the French town of Nevers, was well connected in French political circles. The young Capuchin priest travelled to India and reached Surat in 1641. Stopping in Golconda on the way to Madras, he tutored Prince Abul Hasan, the future Qutb Shahi Sultan (1672), in mathematics. The prince invited him to establish a house and church at Bhagnagar (Hyderabad) at royal expense. Declining, Pe Ephraim travelled to Fort St. George where he constructed a chapel for the Catholics of Madras and the neighbouring Portuguese settlement of Sao Thome (Mylapore).

More than a century old, Sao Thome had developed a thriving trade in Coromandel textiles. By 1649, this trade was threatened by the EIC (Madras) and VOC (Pulicat). Meanwhile, Golconda pushed into the Coromandel and claimed suzerainty over Sao Thome.

The Portuguese viewed Pe Ephraim's activities as not only undermining the Padroado Real but also helping the EIC. In June 1649, he was seized on the road between the two towns and shipped to Goa. He arrived there on January 15, 1650. Niccolo Manucci, the Venetian merchant and Pe Ephraim's friend, and the French merchant Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, who visited Madras and Sao Thome in 1652 portray him as an innocent victim of a nefarious Inquisition.

Pe Ephraim was treated like other prisoners. He was deprived of his missal, and not allowed to confess or hear mass. His cell was small but clean. He received regular, healthy meals, and had access to reading materials to help him prepare his case. A senior Franciscan priest was appointed as his attorney.

On November 4, 1650, Pe Ephraim was charged on 16 counts. His case progressed slowly until the charges were reduced to just three. On November 5, 1651, aged 45, he was reprimanded at the meza for affirming and defending the domination of the English. Though a

good priest with a priestly character, his indictment read, he had scandalised all by maintaining contrary opinions about the Holy Trinity, the adoration of the Cross, and the use of devotional images. He was released after he renounced his errors from the pulpit of the Se Cathedral. After spending several months in Goa at the Franciscan convent, he returned to Madras in April 1652. He died there in 1694.

3. Dr. Fr. Ephraim de Vencis Francia fa: Representado namego
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Pe Ephraim's indictment

(ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-CG-014-0033.00001_m0045)

While Pe Ephraim was prosecuted for heresy, the Inquisition had compelling reasons of a non-religious nature to proceed against him. His close association with the Propaganda Fide was a challenge to an impoverished Padroado Real. His association with the EIC settlement in Madras (established 1639) threatened the commercial interests of a precariously held Sao Thome. The EIC had invited him to build a Catholic church in Madras even before an Anglican church was considered. An EIC document of 1660 explains this was part of a strategy to induce Portuguese merchants to abandon Sao Thome and settle in Madras so that the EIC would get a substantial boost

to its economy from their trading experience, wealth, and network (Ames 2009).

Charles Gabriel Dellan (1676)

Charles Gabriel Dellan was sentenced in the auto-da-fe of January 12, 1676 celebrated at the Se Cathedral. Breaking his vow to keep secret the proceedings of the Inquisition, he wrote about his experience when safely back in Europe. His book *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa* became a bestseller and an inspiration in the creation of the Black Legend.

Born in 1649 in France, Dellan trained as a physician and landed in Surat in August 1669. He worked for the Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales for the next three years, undertaking several voyages on its behalf. From Surat he sailed to other west coast ports (Tellicherry, Calicut, Cannanore, Tanur, Mangalore, Daman) from where he collected information of a political, social, economic, cultural, and religious nature for the benefit of his employers. His first book, *Nouvelle Relation d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*, includes details of crops, flora, fauna, communities, costumes, trade, and the activities of France's European rivals, the Dutch, English, and Portuguese. It is rarely mentioned in the literature of Goa's Inquisition.

Dellan visited Goa in 1672. He described the roles of its functionaries, the viceroy, the courts, the Misericordia, and the Inquisition, its harbour, forts, trade, and sailing seasons, and the aljube and polvara. Of the Inquisition he writes: "in front of the Cathedral, in a large square, is this house of terror: it is the severe Inquisition that the Portuguese call Santa Casa, or Casa d'o Santo Officio" (Dellan 1699: 205). Little was he to know then that he would shortly get an intimate experience of its inside.

Leaving the Compagnie's service in February 1673 with the intention of travelling to China, he stopped in Daman. Its Portuguese governor,

Manuel Furtado, convinced him to remain and practise medicine. So began his troubles.

The 24-year-old Frenchman, good-looking and intelligent, soon gained the attention of Daman's society. He fell out with the governor over the affections of a lady. His views on baptism, the crucifix, and images of the Virgin Mary and Catholic saints aroused the ire of an Indian Dominican priest. Fearing arrest, Dellan approached the Inquisition's commissar and confessed to his 'errors'. He was now an appresentado.

Auto-da-fe of January 12, 1676

Relaxed em carne

Bartholomeu Goncalves (60, Bacaim, gardener) for heresy, apostasy, sorcery

Frarra de Azevedo (50, Bacaim, Currumbim) heresy, apostasy

Relaxed em statua

Joao Pacheco (36, Portuguese) heresy, Judaism

Goncalo Cardozo (30, Salcete, potter) heresy, apostasy; died in prison

Pedro Bapesso (25, Salcete) heresy, apostasy; died in prison

Baltazar de Souza (70, Provincia do Norte, Currumbim)

The commissar reassured Dellan that he was not a heretic, but as there were complaints, he needed to tone down his talk and avoid being denounced. The denunciation, however, came and Dellan was arrested on August 24, 1673. He spent the next five months in Daman's "stinking and dark dungeon" with 40 other prisoners. Sympathizers sent him food which he shared with other inmates. The French priest Abbe Carre visited him on Christmas 1673. On January 6, 1674, he

was transferred to Goa. He spent the next two years in prison, being interrogated at least eight times. Desperation drove him to attempt suicide, an act which the Inquisition considered an admission of guilt. Dellen was given prompt medical attention and the company of a fellow prisoner until he recovered. He abjured de vehemente and was exiled and sentenced to serve in the galleys for five years.

After a short period of spiritual instruction, Dellen sailed from Goa on January 27 as a prisoner. He reached Lisbon on December 16 after a stop in Brazil. The registrar of the Inquisition there, Francisco Aldana, acknowledged receipt (March 22, 1677) of the auto-da-fe list mentioning Carlos del Lon (BNR: mss1352115_199) and entered his name on page 61 (September 22, 1676) of the book of exiles from Goa. It describes him as a native of Agueda, France, living in Damao, Provicia do Norte, a surgeon, single, and son of Luis del Lon (BNR: mss1352115_200).

Penances imposed on Dellen by Inquisitor Matos

1. confess once a month through the next year and on four feast days during the following two
2. hear Mass and sermon every Sunday and feast day
3. recite the Lord's Prayer and Ave Maria five times a day for the next three years
4. not associate with heretics or other persons holding suspicious doctrines
5. maintain total secrecy about his treatment by the Inquisition, and about what he had seen, said, or heard

Dellon's case had already acquired some publicity by the time of his release in Lisbon on June 30, 1677. His case was taken up by a Frenchman, the chief physician to the Queen. Dellon writes the General Council expressed its surprise at the severity of the sentence, saying "it was utterly incredible that a man should have been condemned to the Galleys for five years for such a trifling matter" (Dellon 1688: 155). Clearly Dellon's prosecution had more to do with local considerations of which the General Council was unaware and unconcerned.

Dellon's final reactions were mixed. Though justifiably bitter about his experience, he wrote "Who can say, on perusing these penitentiary canons, that the Inquisition is too rigorous?" (Dellon 1688: 124). Earlier in the text, he wrote: "I do not pretend to censure the Inquisition itself; I am even willing to admit that the institution may be good... but, like all human establishments, which, though pure in design, are subject to relaxation and abuse, it is not surprising that these have also found their way into the Tribunals of the Holy Office... It is then the abuse only of which I complain..." (Dellon 1688: 2). Dellon suspected his arrest was caused by more than a mere suspicion of heresy: "I think too, that I am justified in believing that I was sent into Portugal, for the express purpose of pleasing the Viceroy and Governor of Daman, who was his relation; as out of upwards of two hundred persons (the actual number was 125) who left the Inquisition when I did, I was the only one compelled to leave the Indies for Europe" (Dellon 1688: 128).

The involvement of the viceroy and governor brings out clear political overtones for Dellon's incarceration. For the Estado, the period c. 1660-70 was one of continuing decline and losses. Its treasury was empty. In contrast, the French spread money around lavishly in expanding their trading network. The visit of La Haye's fleet to Goa in 1670 overawed the City with its display of military and naval power. In 1672, La Haye captured the strategic port of Trincomalee in

Ceylon, and in 1674, Sao Thome, captured earlier (1662) by Golconda. These developments probably influenced Dellow's arrest. Ames writes: "He, like the Compagnie des Indes Orientales, was young, dynamic, powerful, and virile. As such, Dellow presented a target worth attacking to remind the upstart French that they still had to contend with the vestigial power of the Estado. Unable to do so militarily or economically, the Goa Inquisition represented the most effective and powerful weapon for settling both symbolic and personal scores, as the case of Fr. Ephraim and Dellow demonstrate" (Ames 2009).

Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa

Fifteen editions of Dellow's book appeared in Paris, Amsterdam, London, Lyons, Rotterdam, and Koln between 1688 and 1709. Britain's growing colonial empire stimulated Protestant activism and the publication of nineteenth century editions (London 1812, 1815, Boston 1815, Pittsburgh 1819). The first Portuguese translation appeared only in 1866.

Such popularity was exploited. A forgery, supposedly translated from German, was published in 1791 with the title *The Authentic Memoirs and Sufferings of Dr. William Stahl, A German Physician, CONTAINING His Travels, Observations, and interesting Narrative during four Years Imprisonment at GOA, for paying his Address to DONNA MARIA, a Portuguese Lady, for whom an unholy Father had conceived an unlawful Passion.*

The book takes us back to the Gothic genre narratives of the Inquisition in which we have a beautiful widow and her well-intentioned physician acquaintance trapped in the snares of an unscrupulous and villainous Dominican priest and an unrelentingly bigoted and malevolent Inquisition. It contrasts the refreshing freedom that Englishmen enjoyed to the fate of Portuguese enmeshed in the "villainy of ambitious and designing priests...The Portuguese will never be

free or enlightened people unless they banish the priests from their houses and families..."

Our hero, Dr Stahl, is a Catholic physician born in Germany in 1749. Following the death of his parents, he begins a life of travel which takes him to Goa. On board the vessel, he makes the acquaintance of Donna Maria Gabriela Nunez who, on landing in Goa, finds herself a widow. Just 23, beautiful, and alone, she falls into the clutches of a cunning Dominican monk, Father Francisco, her confessor, who exploits her situation. Donna Maria rebuffs the priest, being "too refined to suffer herself to be seduced by a smutty Dominican". Furious, the crafty priest observes her developing relationship with Stahl and schemes their destruction.

The storyline is straight out of Dellow's book, with entire sections being plagiarised. One major deviation lies in the number of those condemned to the flames. They have increased fivefold, from two to 10, and they include relapses into Judaism at a time when such cases had practically disappeared from auto-da-fe lists.

Stahl is asked to treat a young boy who "would not cease licking and hugging the image of the Virgin to the great hindrance of the surgeon." Stahl's request that he keep it aside so that the treatment could proceed results in a scandalised Fr Francisco hurriedly walking out, crossing himself as if escaping from the devil himself. On his way back home, Stahl receives a note which reads "Tremble, ye heretics-Avaunt-Be gone!!!-Enough of your profanation!-Our holy mother the church will soon take vengeance." Take vengeance it does. Stahl ends up in the Inquisition's prison as Donna Maria flees to Portugal where she has estates and high-level contacts.

Like Dellow, Stahl arrives in Lisbon as a prisoner and is released through the efforts of his contacts. He goes to France in search of Donna Maria but flees to Ostend as revolutionary convulsions grip

the country. Here he learns that Donna Maria had died after the ship she was sailing in was captured by Muslim pirates near Algeria. In one final twist, the Catholic Church and Muslims pirates are tarred with the same brush.

The author ends with an appeal to the reader to “peruse this tale of truth, consecrated to liberty, philosophy and humanity. Consider the horrors which ignorance and superstition have brought upon the greatest part of Europe, especially upon Spain and Portugal... a victim to intolerance...” He concludes with the assertion that freedom could only be found in Britain, The Netherlands, and Switzerland.

This forgery was published at a time when English missionaries began focusing on the harvesting of Indian souls to the Anglican cause, not long before Buchanan’s visit to Goa.

ista auto-da-fe, que se celebrou na Igreja de São Pedro
dos martírios das termas de Salcede em 21 de Julho
de 1686, prez. o M. P. P. Antônio Freitas
da Cunha, o P. D. J. Alvaro de Souza, o P.
da Cunha, Dom mestre do P. ofício da Cidade
de São Pedro

Assolna auto-da-fe list, 1686

(ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-CG-1031_m0024)

Lista das pessoas abjuradas em firma
que se despediram da Igreja de São Pedro
em 15 de Julho de 1686, na qual se fez:
de São Pedro de Cunha, o P. de Salcede, prez.
o P. M. P. D. J. Alvaro de Souza, o P. de Cunha
Virgem da Graça, o P. de Salcede, o P.
Virgem da Graça em firma e o P. de Salcede.
I. Abjuradas

Cuncolim auto-da-fe list, 1694

(ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-IL-004-0011_m0051)

Beles.

Justas Inférs.

Perus

Prima deles gentio, Curru, Sober, P. de São
Pedro, Mat. em na Ilha de Cunha, prez. de
São Pedro de Cunha por culpas de fabricar Virgens
na firma, com peixes Dourados, contra os
ditos do Santo Ofício

Jua auto-da-fe list, 1699

(ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-IL-004-0011_m0297)



Chapter Twenty One

Assolna (1686), Cuncolim (1694), Jua (1699)

At the southern border of sixteenth century Goa lay a cluster of five closely-knit villages: Ambelim, Assolna, Cuncolim, Velim, Veroda. Cuncolim, one of the largest villages in Salcete, was situated 50 kms from the City of Goa. It was strategically located amidst fertile agricultural fields at the crossroads of trade routes that connected it to the interior and coast. It had a bustling and permanent bazaar handling a variety of goods, and was the hub of highly skilled and specialised crafts including the manufacture of high quality guns. The bazaar's economy was intimately connected to traditional temple fairs and religious festivities (zatras). The bazaar and temple played a prominent role in the life of the village, and considerably enhanced the status, wealth, and privileges of the dominant ganvkar class. Consequently, they viewed the continuing approach of Christianity as a threat to their established economic and social privileges, and stiffly resisted conversion and cultural integration. In 1583, rising religious, economic, and political tensions in Cuncolim culminated in a violent confrontation between the State and Church on one hand and ganvkars on the other.

Two autos-da-fe celebrated at the main churches of Assolna (1686) and Cuncolim (1694) reveal that resistance continued for over a century. The Cuncolim list includes a number of pre-conversion aliases; a century-old Christian identity had not dampened adherence to pre-conversion traditions. Residents had not abandoned their old gods, Mahadeva, Shantadurga, and Santeri, and were in contact with non-Christians living across a porous border. The villagers abjured *em forma* collectively taking advantage of a general pardon extended at a time of grace.

Events leading to July 15, 1583 (Xavier n.d.; Robinson 1997; de Souza 1992; Newman 2019a, 2019b)

Cuncolim's primary pre-Christian deity was Shantadurga, a variant of Durga, a violent, dangerous, and potent warrior goddess in the fight against demons. Durga is associated with blood sacrifice, meat-eating, and fertility, and descends from her lofty realm in defence of her devotees. Over time Durga assumed a more peaceful nature. She became Shantadurga (*shanta*-peaceful). She is also known as Mahamaya (Mhamai). Cuncolim's Charodos believed she had created the village and considered themselves her warriors. Even today, many Goans believe Shantadurga is a powerful goddess who cures them of illness, infertility, and poverty.

Cuncolim has another revered goddess, Santeri, associated with the anthill (rohn). Her devotees are found predominantly among the Mahar community, believed to be the original inhabitants of the region. As Charodos gained the upper hand, Shantadurga grew more influential. In the sixteenth century, Santeri and Shantadurga were both worshipped throughout Salcete.

Cuncolim's ganvkari had 12 vangods of whom the chief ones were named Naik, Shetkar, and Porobo. As mahajans (elders), ganvkars

maintained the village temple, conducted festivals, and financed bottos, kolvonts (dancing girls), and other servants by allocating revenues from the best lands for this purpose. Marriage ties linked them to the Charodo vangods of the villages of Assolna, Veroda, Ambelim, and Velim.

For various reasons, the organization and self-sufficiency of ganvkaris throughout Goa had begun disintegrating from the sixteenth century. Growing monetisation had forced peasant households into handicraft manufacture, and expanding their operations beyond the village. The diversification of the village economy from the patriarchal agricultural economy had profound implications for intra-societal relations.

Jesuits had been tasked with Christianising Salcete as a means of achieving political and cultural integration. Funds for this purpose were made available from the revenues of churches which, with the tacit approval of village elders, had replaced temples after 1567. Cuncolim resisted this development. Some of its inhabitants fought alongside Bijapur when hostilities broke out in 1570. Resistance continued in the following years with temple construction, open celebration of non-Christian festivals, and non-payment of taxes.

The State retaliated with force. In 1577, palm groves, orchards, and paddy fields were burnt. Bijapur, with the support of Cuncolim's residents, once again attacked Salcete, desecrating and destroying churches and Christian houses. The State chose to make an example of Assolna and Cuncolim. A two-pronged attack was carried out via the river Sal and by land from Rachol. Both villages bore the full force of these assaults. Temples and properties were burnt. The villagers fled but returned when the marauding force left, and rebuilt their homes. The temple of Mahadeva (Shiva), destroyed in 1567, was rebuilt in 1579. The soldiers returned. This time they remained until the ganvkars

submitted to the viceroy in the City of Goa. The battle for Cuncolim's soul, though, continued.

July 15, 1583

On July 15, 1583, five Jesuits led by Rodolfo Aquaviva and four converts were killed in Cuncolim. Aquaviva, having returned from Akbar's court in May, had been appointed chief of Salcete's Jesuit hierarchy. When he arrived with his companions in Cuncolim on a conciliatory visit, its residents remained wary of his intentions. Pondu Naique, a soothsayer, incited them into believing the visitors had come to build a church. Loosening his hair, he danced Shiva's dance of destruction, exhorting the mob with the repeated cry of "the time has come, the time has come." Tensions rose until the dam broke. A mob fell on the Jesuits and killed them all.

Retribution was swift and severe. The perpetrators of the massacre fled across the border and watched their village burn. Eventually 16 of them were enticed to Assolna fort, where, despite being assured of a safe conduct, 15, including the leaders Aga Naique and Ramgaru, were executed. The government deprived the ganvkars of their customary rights and confiscated their lands.

On March 27, 1585, the king endowed on Joao da Silva the ganvkaris of Cuncolim and Veroda with the obligation to pay the customary taxes. The grant cited a number of instances of rebellion by the ganvkars, including enlisting in enemy ranks, violating the king's orders, avoiding paying taxes, and abandoning their duties at the fort. In August, Assolna, Ambelim, and Velim were handed over to Pedro Castro for the same reasons and on the same conditions. Castro donated the villages to the Jesuits of Cochin (Cunha Rivara 1996: 253-5).

Cuncolim's resistance passed from the active to passive, and conversions spiralled upward in the following years. Stigmatised Cuncolim gradually descended into poverty.

Post-1583 (Newman: 2019a, 2019b)

The history of Cuncolim after 1583 is the story of the struggle to reclaim the land and the lost socio-economic position by the 12 clans. Over time, many reclaimed their socio-economic dominance, status, and privileges by converting to Christianity. The church replaced the temple as the symbolic centre around which social and ritual superiority was reconstructed. However, resistance to State and Church was never completely suppressed. Allegiance to Shantadurga, whose idol had been spirited across the border to Fatorpa, played a pivotal role in this defiance.

Such defiance grew under continual and intensifying incursions from Bijapur and later the Marathas in the years leading to the two autos-da-fe. In April 1675, Shivaji plundered Cuncolim and Veroda. During Sambaji's 1683 offensive, Assolna and Cuncolim were captured. The Jesuit priest stationed in Assolna fled to the College of St Pauls. The residents of Assolna and Cuncolim came to terms with the Marathas, paid them a ransom, and joined them in attacking other regions.

The autos-da-fe of 1686 (Assolna) and 1694 (Cuncolim)

On July 21, 1686, the Rector of the Jesuit college at Rachol and Commissar of Salcete, Pe Antonio Freires SJ, celebrated an auto-da-fe at the Church of Nossa Senora dos Martires in Assolna. In all, 111 men (no women or gentios) abjured em forma. Caste-wise, 47 were Charodos and 12 Sudros. The list includes 30 pre-conversion names, an indication they were converts. The gentio names of the fathers of another 32 men are also given, which means that more than half were first or second generation Christians. The list provides another startling insight: the fathers of 49 men, some still young, were dead. The recent wars had devastated families.

The Cuncolim auto-da-fe took place on June 15, 1694 at the Church of Nossa Senora de Saude. Eighty Catholics (58 men, 22 women), almost all from Cuncolim, abjured em forma for gentilidade. Caste-wise, 66 were Charodos and 10 Sudros. The number included four husband and wife couples and 16 widows. Many of them were identified by their alias gentio names suggesting a surviving link to their pre-conversion heritage. Coutinho was the most popular Catholic surname; Naiks, Xettys, and Prabhus were the most popular aliases. Lourenco Monis (Calgo), a native of the mainland living in Margao, was the lone Brahman.

The collective nature of these two autos-da-fe demonstrates how the Inquisition was used to reassert State authority and obtain an oath of allegiance, especially at a time when the deaths of so many fathers and husbands had left villages without traditional leadership. The autos-da-fe followed inquisitorial visits to Assolna, Ambelim, and Vellim in 1680, and southern Salcete in 1693 (Inventory M0499).

Consolidation

Manoel Vieira, the inquisitor who had visited Salcete in 1693, complained to the king on January 11, 1698, that Christians regularly defied the ban on travel across the border to indulge in idolatry and other gentile practices (de Souza 1979: 206-8). Some Christians had lived in pagan lands for 15 to 20 years, and fathered children who had not been baptised. In 1714, nine women from Cuncolim, eight of them non-Christian, were convicted of celebrating gentile festivals and sacrificing to the devil. All except 12-year-old Gangay were sentenced to the polvara. Anna, a widow and the only Christian and Sudra, was imprisoned. The auto-da-fe, it appears, had not had its intended effect.

From c. 1720, the government began planting a thick bamboo jungle along the border to make it impenetrable. It does not seem to have deterred movement of people and influences across the border.

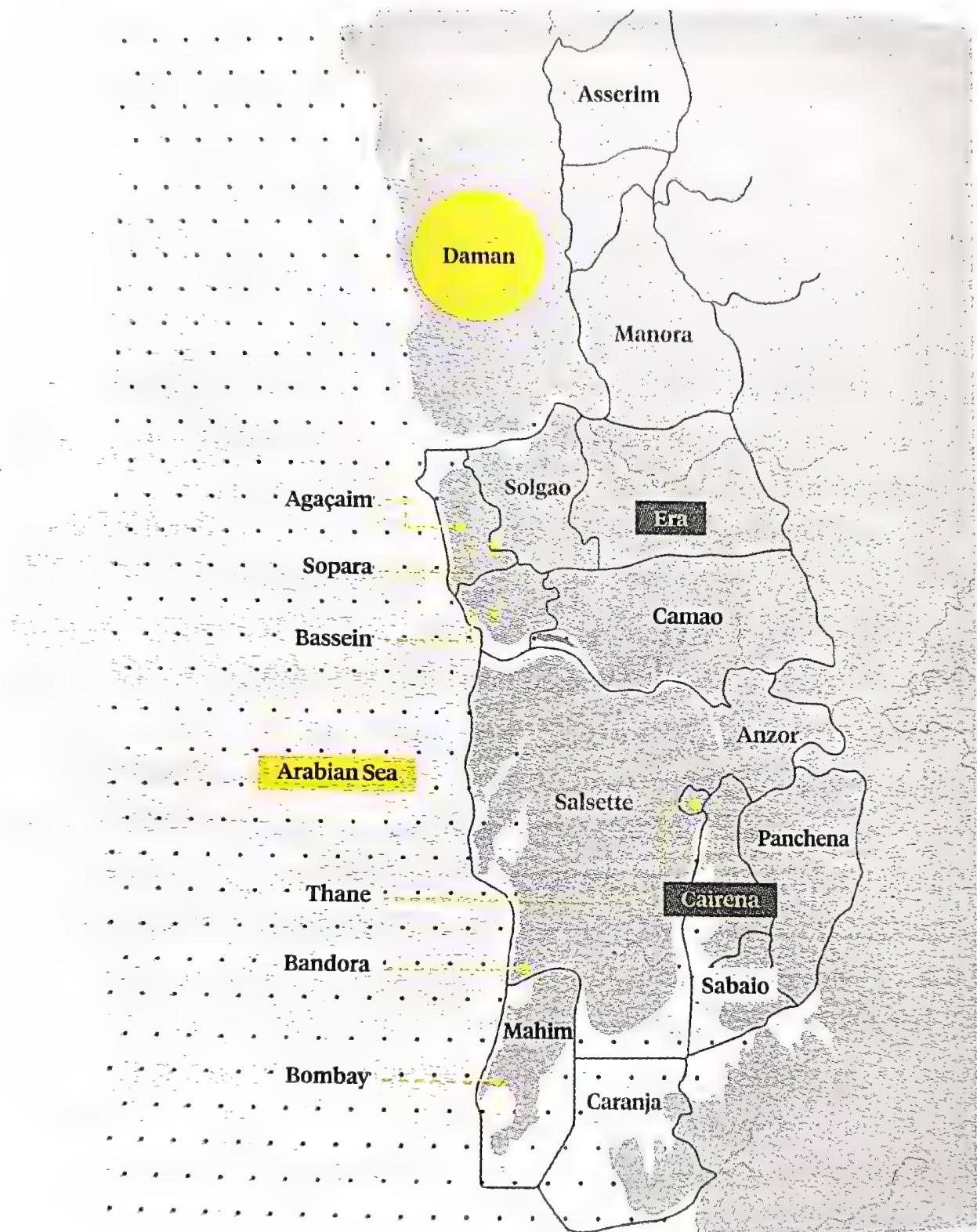
In 1765, two years after Haider's troops were at Sunda's borders, 16 Sudros from Assolna were imprisoned for gentilidade.

Jua (1699)

Instigated by two goldsmiths (Rama and Parba Ketty), two Brahmans (Rama and Ramagy Camoty), and a fisherman (Banogo), 41 Christians defied prohibitory orders to cultivate lands across the border. Rama Ketty, an appresentado, received no sentence. The other four were exiled to Brazil for six years. Except for a Portuguese, Joao da Costa (46) from Chorao, the Christians were all Charodos from Jua. Joao was exiled to Mozambique for recruiting the others. The rest, barring four appresentados who were spared punishment, were sentenced to two years labour in the polvara or galleys. Some were whipped.

There were five father and son teams, and four from the Marquez family, sons of two probable brothers, Antonio and Phelipe. Most were in their prime working years. Their removal from Jua's economy for two years must have badly affected not only their families but also the village economy.

State and Church had overriding reasons for discouraging cultivation in the mainland. For the State, cultivation across the border meant fallow fields within Goa and economic losses. The General Assembly of Salcete's ganvkari gave this reason for not being able to meet tax demands, and added that migrants exacerbated the economic distress by taking their cattle with them. Cultivation of lands across the border added to the State's security concerns. The Church's concern was it involved rituals conducted by a *muly* which exposed Christians to gentile influences. Border villages like Jua were particularly vulnerable.



Provincia do Norte



Chapter Twenty Two

The Edict of 1736

The Edict of 1736 was issued against the backdrop of an impending catastrophe confronting an Estado reeling under repeated Maratha attacks. It was issued some four decades after Inquisitor Vieira complained that 30,000 gentios still lived in Goa “with no hopes of conversion and are destroying the faith of those who have it” (de Souza 1979: 208). It was a desperate attempt at isolating and social disciplining a Christian population from the possibility of relapse, a very real danger as demonstrated by the case of Pe Constantino Joao Roiz and other priests that year (Chapter 25).

The Inquisition’s containment efforts faced criticism from other authorities. On December 19, 1729, Viceroy Joao de Saldanha da Gama advised the king that the ruin facing the Estado was entirely due to a visible lack of commerce. The primary reason for this, he wrote, was because its merchants, all non-Christian, viewed the Inquisition’s suppression of the public performance of their religion with horror. In prison, violence was used to extort their wealth; they preferred to die rather than eat food prepared by persons of other castes. Many merchants, while acknowledging the justice of Portuguese laws, had taken their businesses to friendlier British and French settlements.

They asked that the Inquisition should not punish them for performing religious rituals in private behind closed doors, and that it reject denunciations from others of their caste, as such testimony lacked credibility and arose from business rivalry and other considerations. The viceroy questioned the Inquisition's capability and jurisdiction in judging those who were never Catholics. The "excessive" number of non-Christian prisoners had resulted in the Provincia do Norte being depopulated and the Tana factory shifting its operations to neighbouring Bombay.

The attractions of Bombay

The East India Company had come to India for trade and profit. From 1668, when it rented the islands of Bombay from King Charles, it made continuous efforts to attract merchants, capital, and artisans to boost its economy with the promise of good wages and religious freedom. It restricted the influence of Portuguese priests within its territory, replacing them altogether in 1720 by Italian Carmelites after they had sworn allegiance to the English king. Within a few years Bombay had a new port, warehouses, a customs house, causeways linking the islands, forts, a mint, and other infrastructure, all protected by a large fleet. By 1675, its population had risen to 60,000, and in 1687, it replaced Surat as the Company's headquarters.

The Bombay Council had received an unambiguous directive from London that the new settlement should not only meet its own expenses but also make profits for the Company through good governance and incentives that encouraged its inhabitants and attracted migrants skilled in manufacturing, agriculture, and other trades to make products that could be sold in India and Europe. Complying, it drew up elaborate strategies to entice merchants from the neighbouring Provincia do Norte. It sent men to Chaul and Thana to study the weaving industry and encourage weavers to migrate to Bombay. Very soon the Council

was concerned that it would “not have place nor roome to deale out to the severall tradesmen of all kindes, as weavers, dyers, washers, carpenters, smithes, and severall other artificers (too many to name) that we hope to invite thither in a short tyme...” (Foster 1927: 56-77).

The Provincia do Norte was unable to stop the exodus of commerce to Bombay. The growing Maratha troubles accelerated this flow. To the intelligent Indian merchant, the place where their fortunes and future lay was clear. Freedom to openly practise one’s religion was an added attraction.

What the auto-da-fe lists reveal

Joao de Saldanha da Gama served as viceroy for two terms from 1725 to 1732. Details of 15 available autos-da-fe lists, from 1721 to 1736, throw light on the Inquisition’s operations during this period. They reveal 661 (41%) non-Christians were prosecuted out of a total of 1,633 persons. Of these 588 (89%) were from the Provincia do Norte. Privileged castes and professions formed 12 % of these numbers, underprivileged castes and professions 80 %, Muslims 3%, and Marathas and Gujaratis 5%. The overwhelming majority were prosecuted for gentilidade and sorcery (98%). Fifty-six persons were relieved from punishment for converting to Christianity.

1721: eight tailors from Daman; idol worship; whipped, polvara

1722: Manica Naique; gentilidade, revealing the Inquisition’s secrets, inducing false testimony; whipped, exiled

1723: Rama Naique (36, Brahman, Pandit, Bacaim); bribing officials to avoid prison; fined 200 xerafins

1726: 21 persons; worshipping idols; fined

These statistics question the motive for Saldanha's complaint. Merchants constituted a tiny percentage of those prosecuted. It was the underprivileged that bore the main brunt of prosecutions, and they contributed little to the flight of capital. Would an average of 40 such prosecutions annually have influenced them to abandon their businesses and flee to a neighbouring European settlement? Was Saldanha attempting to shift responsibility for his inability to stem the tide of military and economic decline, and rising emigration? Ironically, he himself had been involved in containing gentile influences within the Estado.

In 1727, Saldanha had issued an order that all bottos who had entered the Estado illegally were to leave immediately. Only those permitted by the Inquisition would be allowed to remain (Priolkar 1961: 123). In 1729, 15 bottos from Trapor, Mahim were whipped, sentenced to the galleys, and exiled for exercising their office, worshipping idols, and publicly performing other banned ceremonies. The Inquisition was only implementing Saldanha's directive.

The auto-da-fe of January 15, 1736

The details of this auto-da-fe provide an insight into the minds of the inquisitors just before the Edict of 1736 was issued. Of the 83 persons sentenced, 29 were non-Christians, mainly from underprivileged classes. The offences for which they were convicted included preventing persons from converting, hiding orphans, temple visits, invocations and sacrifices to the demon, gentile banquets, and donations to bottos. The most severe punishment was meted out to Hari Joshi (Brahman, Trapor) for exercising the office of botto. He was made to wear the carocha of the dogmatist, whipped, sent to the galleys for 10 years, and then permanently exiled. Of the 29, 10 were women, five of them wives of men convicted in the same auto-da-fe.

Like non-Christians, Christians were almost all from underprivileged classes. Most abjured em forma for gentilidade. The particulars are not stated. Bigamy, false testimony, heresy and apostasy, revealing secrets of the Inquisition, delivering a minor daughter to perform services in a temple, and taking orphans across the border constituted the remaining offences. Sebastiao (Curumbim, Salcete), convicted for heresy, apostasy, and invoking the demon in the auto-da-fe of February 5, 1734, appeared voluntarily before the meza for relapsing. He was sent to prison, appeared in the penitential habit, and then spent six months as a recluse in a monastery. The effigy of another relapse, Joao da Costa (Charodo, Salcete), convicted on February 15, 1719 for the same offence was burnt with the carocha of a dogmatist placed on its head. Pe Constantino was burnt for heresy and apostasy, being contumacious and in denial.

Many of those sentenced, among both non-Christians and Christians, were family members. While most of the former were whipped and exiled to Anjediva, or sent to the polvara, the latter were mostly sent to prison, shamed in the auto-da-fe by wearing the sanbenito, and then given a dose of spiritual penances and instructed in the Faith. These sentences suggest that the inquisitors attempted to deter non-Christians from public gentile rituals that were a temptation to Christians by having them whipped publicly and then removing them from society for a while; they exposed Christians to public shaming and then re-educated them in Christianity. However there was no mercy for a priest who had compromised his faith and persisted in denial. His execution removed him permanently from society.

The Edict of 1736, Goa

The suppression of gentilidade among Christians constituted the Inquisition's major pre-occupation at this time. On April 14, 1736, it issued an edict banning 52 prevailing practices among Christians.

This was aimed at curtailing pre-conversion purity and pollution practices in daily life, festive and other occasions connected especially to life-cycle celebrations, and annual rituals. It also attempted to limit the authority of the traditional respect extended to family elders. The largest number concerned marriage (27), birth (six), and funeral (four) rituals related to pollution, the use of gentile objects, and modes of worship. Another seven concerned the preparation of food, ritual feasts, and fasting, and the remaining addressed dress, the tulsi plant, agriculture, religious processions, and other issues (Priolkar 1961: 97-107).

The edict banned the playing of musical instruments used in gentile ceremonies during Christian marriage celebrations and other solemn occasions. Betel leaves and areca nut were not to be used, gifted, or distributed during weddings. The role of family elders was downplayed in all ceremonies; they were to be denied any pre-eminence traditionally given to them. *Ovios* (traditionally sung at wedding ceremonies) were not to be sung at weddings or any other occasion. Auspicious times were not to be observed for starting wedding preparations, nor were any ointments of saffron, milk, coconut oil, rice flour, and pulverized leaves to be applied on the bride or groom. Ritual bathing, erection of pandals, traditional reception ceremonies with throwing flowers and sprinkling perfumed water were proscribed. Weddings were to be conducted at times that allowed the newly married couple to reach home

1733: Joao Ribeiro (40, dogmatic arch-heretic); officiating as muly; whipped, imprisoned, seclusion in convent, labour in polvara. Pedro (Curumbim); was sent to the galleys and exiled.

1754: Joao de Sousa (28, Charodo, Daugi); permitting *ovios* to be sung in his house; polvara

before sunset; no traditional ceremonies were to be observed when the couple reached home. If persons serving the marriage feast were accustomed to wearing shoes, they were not to remove them during the meal. A person who had held the office of muly was to have no role at any marriage ceremony except in the case of his own children. Traditional practices, like placing new-born babies upon raw rice, were not to be observed. There were to be no celebrations on the sixth day after the birth, no application of cowdung at the place of birth, and no ritual bathing of the mother. Similarly, cowdung was not to be used for cleaning a house in which a person had died. A dead person's clothes were not to be thrown into a river or sea but burned when necessary to avoid contagion. Funeral feasts were to be replaced by almsgiving to the poor.

Gentile practices in food preparation, like wearing wet garments or salting rice after it was cooked, were to be abandoned. Fasting was to be observed only according to Christian customs. Tulsi plants were to be pulled out, and no Christian was to be addressed by a gentio name.

The edict prohibited a Christian from exercising the office of a muly. The muly was a temple functionary who performed pujas and other ceremonies before the season's cultivation commenced. A primary purpose of temple ritual was divination or appeasing a deity with a view to obtain knowledge of future events crucial for survival and well-being, events such as when the monsoon would arrive. This would determine the dates for ploughing fields and planting the new crop. This ritual included offering rice, coconuts, and bananas, and sacrificing cocks to protective deities. The blood of the sacrificed fowl, coconut milk, and boiled rice was sprinkled on the fields. The muly got possessed by the devil and foretold crop prospects. Henceforth, he was not to be given any respect, honour, or precedence during the

sowing or harvesting of crops. These labours were to be performed without distinction, and according to everyone's convenience.

The edict prohibited the use of gentio dress, dance, or music during Christian festivals. Priests, monks, and Christian rituals were not to be denigrated in any manner. During the Lenten passion plays, only images of Christ, Our Lady, and some saints or angels were allowed as other figures would "give rise not only to scandals and indecency, but also to much real idolatry."

The Edict of 1736 was an attempt to prevent Christians from exposure to pre-conversion practices that would tempt them into relapsing at a time when continuing Maratha incursions over decades had made it a real and potent danger.



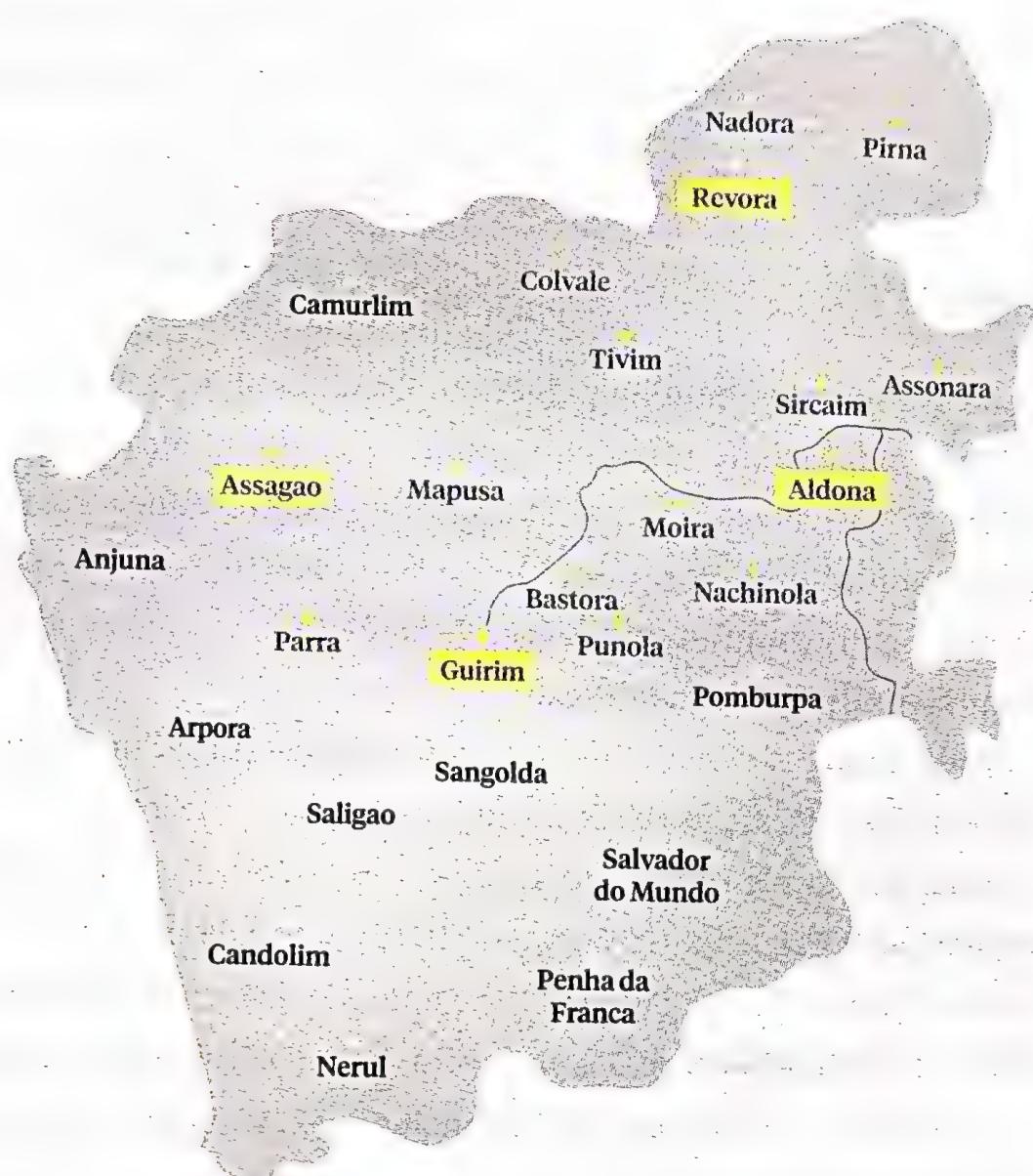


Chapter Twenty Three

Bardes and the Inquisition

Bardes is a small territory, roughly 20 km across east to west and north to south. Mapusa, the capital and economic centre, is located more or less at its geographic centre. The Arabian Sea coastline forms its western border, the Chapora River its northern, and the Mapusa River, a stream in dry months, its eastern. To its south flows the Mandovi, separating it from Tiswadi (Ilhas).

The erection of parish churches mark the progress of Christianity into Bardes: Reis Magus (1555), Candolim, Nagoa, and Siolim (1560); Salvador do Mundo (1565); Aldona and Nerul (1569); Colvale (1591); Mapusa (1594); Calangute (1595); Anjuna (1603); Sangolda and Pomburpa (1604); Ucassaim (1621); Tivim (1623); Penha-da-Franca (1629); Moira (1636); Parra (1649); Pilerne (1650); Revora (1653) (D'Cruz 2003). Bardes had a Christian population of 33,786 (including 7,142 children) in 1635 (D'Cruz 2003). The number reached 46,450 by 1667, and 56,465 by 1720. A series of general baptisms were a feature of these rising figures: 1591-94 (3 general baptisms; 4,500 people); 1597 (1; 2,000); 1602-5 (8; 7,000); 1605-14 (12; 8,100); 1614-19 (3; 2,000); 1619 (300, Moira, Thekkadath 1988: 345-348). General baptisms continued through to the 1630s.



A map of Bardes

Bardes's geography invited invasions from the mainland via a corridor formed by the Chapora River to its north and the Moira-Mapusa River to its south. The villages of Assonora, Sircaim, Pirna, Revora and Nadora lie to its east. On its west, lie the town of Mapusa and the villages of Assagao, Parra, Guirim, Bastora, and Punola. Aldona, Moira, Nachinola, and Pomburpa lie south of this corridor and adjacent to it. Bardes's main defences, the twin forts of Sao Thome (Tivim) and Sao Sebastiao (Colvale), were built at its centre.

It was here that the Inquisition was most active in Bardes.

Bardes and the autos-da-fe

Region-wise statistics suggest a clear link with rising auto-da-fe numbers and the threats posed by Dutch and Maratha assertiveness. Between 1650 and 1801, prosecutions were more or less evenly distributed throughout Bardes as would be expected for offences of a religious nature.

Bardes	Region 1	Region 2	Region 3	Region 4
1650-1801	1,325	314 (24%)	295 (22%)	419 (32%)
1650-1660	215	67 (31%)	39 (18%)	26 (12%)
1664-1736	645	78 (12%)	218 (34%)	270 (42%)
1741-1801	465	169 (36%)	38 (8%)	123 (27%)
				135 (29%)

Region 1 - Mapusa, Bastora, Assagao, Parra, Guirim, Punola

Region 2 - Aldona, Moira, Nachinola, Pomburpa

Region 3 - Tivim, Colvale, Assonara, Sircaim, Revora, Nadora, Pirna

Region 4 - Rest of Bardes

Between 1650 and 1660, when the sea-based Dutch assault on the Estado neared its climax, numbers were highest in areas susceptible to coastal influences. As the Maratha threat intensified (1664-1736), case numbers rose in the vulnerable Aldona (34%) and Tivim (42%) regions. Except for Aldona which saw a dramatic drop to just 8%, numbers evened out as the Maratha wars subsided. It suggests the possibility of large-scale Christian migration from Aldona during this time.

Mapusa and Bastora

Mapusa saw its highest numbers in 1651 when the Braganca clan was targeted (Chapter 19). The years 1711 and 1712 also saw increased numbers of 18 and 13 respectively. For Bastora which contributed 12% of Bardes's numbers, two kilometres away, the largest number (71) clusters around the years 1769-73. Other prominent years were 1666 (13), 1749 (18), 1750 (20), and 1781 (12).

Aldona, Moira, and Nachinola

Aldona is situated 4 km from Moira with Nachinola midway between them. While they constituted around 9% of Bardes's Christian population, 20% of the Inquisition's convictions for Bardes came from these three villages.

	Christians 1635	Christians 1720	Inquisition 1650-1801
Aldona	1,837	3,372	183
Moira	1,214	823	76
Nachinola	na	606	12
Total	3,051	4,801	271
Bardes	33,786	56,465	1,325
%	9.03	8.50	20.45

Aldona's place in the Inquisition's records is discussed in Chapter 24.

Moira, with its high Brahman population, has been called the village of 'wise fools'. Its folklore treasures stories illustrating the eccentric character of its inhabitants. It is believed that Moira's early settlers came from Tivim. Brahmins controlled the ganvkari and were mahajans of the *mazania*. On a single day in 1619, 300 Brahmins, in order to retain their privileges, signed a register certifying that they had converted voluntarily after they were promised that a church would be built for them. State and Church were happy to oblige (D'Cruz 2003: 288, 184-5).

Seventy-one Moidkars (45 appresentados), mostly Brahmins and a few Sudros, were sentenced for gentilidade in 1664. Some of them were husband and wife; 17 were widows. The remaining auto-da-fe lists contain just five other names from Moira. In the 1653 auto-da-fe, Punola abutting its southern border, contributed 12 persons. Of them, Simao Nasarete was burnt, and his son Pedro and daughter Anna were imprisoned.

Nachinola makes a small contribution to the Inquisition's lists. A significant one is from 1653 when the effigies and bones of Thomas Mascarenhas (Goinda Parbu) and his wife Rucuminy were burnt. Rucuminy did not perish with her Christian name. She died as a relapse.

Tivim and Colvale

The network of fortifications between Colvale and Tivim, consisting of deep moats, high walls, and auxiliary forts, was built between 1635 and 1681. Half the construction costs of Tivim fort were met by the ganvkaris as per prevailing practice, and locals were compulsorily drafted to guard it. Conscription drew young men away from the land. Food production fell so that Bardes's rice production could not meet more than four months of its requirement. When Bijapur's Abdul Hakim attacked Bardes in 1654, and during Sambaji's invasion

of 1683, many of Tivim's inhabitants migrated to Kanara (de Souza 1979: 203-5; D'Cruz 2003: 282). Not surprisingly, at least three autos-da-fe were held in 1656.

Tivim (104 persons, 92 appresentados) featured prominently in the 1664 auto-da-fe (266 persons). There were 22 batches for the abjuration ceremony, mostly *em forma* for gentilidade. Charodos and de Souzas comprised about half the number. Many were converts with Naik and Gauro being prominent pre-conversion names. There were 12 widows. At least 11 autos-da-fe were held between 1653 and 1664 but we have details only for 1660. If the 1664 number is any indication, the actual numbers must have been large indeed.

Manoel de Souza (Guensuanaique, 60), his wife Joanna (50) and two sons Diogo (25) and Domingos (30), and Domingos's wife Anna were sentenced for gentilidade. The younger generation appeared as appresentados, but not the parents.

Manoel de Souza (Guensuagauro, 35) was sent to the galleys for sorcery. His two appresentado brothers, Jeronimo and Domingos, received lighter sentences.

Assonora, Sircaim, Revora, and Nadora

Assonora with 153 persons follows Aldona and Bastora. Of these, 103 were sentenced between 1764 and 1773. The years 1715 and 1716 saw high numbers from Assonora (38), Revora (29), and Nadora (36). Sircaim's highest number (23) was in 1664. Most were Charodo appresentados. Two family groups consisted of Domingas Albuquerque (52), widow of Joao, and her two sons Lourenco (25) and Francisco (18), and Domingos Vaz (35), his brother Diogo (25) and his wife Maria (26).

Other villages of Bardes

In 1653, Diogo Coutinho (kulachari, Calangute) abjured de leve for gentilidade along with his wife Francisca and six sons, Antonio, Salvador, Lourenco, Domingos, Sebastiao, and a second Antonio, all appresentados.

Parra shied from the Inquisition's warm breath in 1714 when Anna Alvares (55, Charodo), widow of Andre Alvares, abjured em forma for gentilidade. Sentenced to wear the penitential dress perpetually along with the carocha of the dogmatists, she was sent to the polvara for a year and exiled from her village. Four Alvares males, Paulo (28), Agostinho (40), Aleixo (28), and Balthesar (30) were punished for working on the construction of a temple across the border. Anna appears again in 1716 when she was relieved from relaxation because of some deficiency in the prosecution. She was exiled to Anjediva.

Other Bardes villages which figured prominently in various autos-da-fe were Assagao (1653, 20 persons), Britona (1711, 16), Saligao (1650, 8; 1653, 6), Camurlim (1653, 8; 1709, 9), and Sirula (1650, 12).



Gateway to Adlona's cemetery



Chapter Twenty Four

Aldona at the Northern Frontier

The arch over the entry gate to Aldona's cemetery bears the legend AIZ MAKA FALEA TUCA. Translated as 'today for me, tomorrow you', its sentiments may well have expressed the feelings of Aldonkars as the process of inveigling them into the Portuguese Nation drew inexorably closer. This process of Christianisation and the post-Christianisation effort to prevent converts from straying is recorded in Church, ganvkari, and Inquisition documents. The latter's statistics can be extrapolated to allow an intriguing conclusion on the emigration of Aldonkars though not on the cause; for that we must look elsewhere. Ironically, oral history places some of the onus for the first migration of Aldonkars to Mangalore on its operations. The story goes that some ganvkars were prosecuted by the Inquisition in 1574 for persisting in their old ways, dress, and customs: "their property was confiscated and one or two were burnt alive at the stake" (Costa n.d.). This is contrary to the Inquisition's records (*Figueira Reportio*). The first recorded case against an Aldonkar dates to 1592, and he was not burnt. Such stories illustrate oral history's contribution to the creation of the Black Legend and its susceptibility to imaginative manipulation.

Aldona

For over two centuries until Bicholim was annexed, Aldona remained a frontier village open to influences from across the border even as Christianity made inroads among ganvkars. Ganvkari records from 1595 to 1605 preserved in the Tombo de Aldona reveal Christian names with identifying cross marks became more common as the years passed (Ghantkar 1993). Aldona's Church of St Thomas (1569) was constructed on an elevated spot overlooking the river. The church was rebuilt as the Christian population grew. The very first meeting in 1595 agreed to the rector's proposal to contribute 125 xeralfins from ganvkari funds for a new church. Such meetings were always attended by representatives from all 12 vangods. Again on March 13, 1603, the ganvkars resolved to replace the church built of mud using funds received by sale of fallow land in the village. Three of the 12 ganvkars were not Christians. Ra(ma) Prabhu, son of Poculi Prabhu of the 12th vangod, possibly belonging to my ancestral tree, was one of them. The Prabhus denoted their religious affiliation by adding the diagram of a horizontal cobra to their signature.

The other concern emerging from these meetings was the movement of Aldonkars to the mainland. More than one meeting deliberated on issues arising from violations of the ban on crossing the border. A meeting on January 15, 1605 agreed to restore the loss of ganvkari rights incurred by 14 boys who volunteered to convert in return. Among them were two Prabhus, Ananth and Sate.

A presence across the border was a matter of self-preservation for Aldonkars. They could not depend on protection from a distant and impoverished government whose governor complained in 1690 "I have sent to the North all that I had in Goa...I find myself with companies of four to six to eight soldiers- a blind calamity." The Marathas repeatedly raided Bardes to carry away grain and cattle

and extort money (Pissulencar 1975: 159, 162). It was only natural for Aldonkars to seek an accommodation with them. When some of them assisted the Marathas in a battle at Corjuem, across the river, in 1710, retribution followed the Maratha defeat. Some Aldonkars are said to have fled to Kanara (Costa n.d.).

Aldonkars convicted between 1560-1774

(Figueira, ANTT auto lists, Moreira)

1	1592	Lourenco Ferrao	sorcery	whipped
2	1605	Ambrosio de Sousa	false witness	whipped
3	1605	Goncalo Albuquerque	gentilidade	prison
4	1606	Antonio Ferrao	temple visit	
5	1607	Alvaro Gomes	gentilidade	
6	1607	Francisco Miranda	false testimony	galleys
7	1607	Pero Ferrao	gentilidade	polvara
8	1607	Baltazar de Souza	gentilidade	polvara
9	1607	Lourenco Ferrao		polvara
10	1607	Sebastiao da Costa	gentilidade	polvara
11	1607	Manoel Siqueira	gentilidade	prison
12	1607	Duarte Muniz	gentilidade	
13	1607	Domingos Lobo	gentilidade	prison
14	1607	Baltazar Ferrao	gentilidade	prison
15	1607	Bernardino Azevedo	gentilidade	prison
16	1607	Belchior Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
17	1607	Antonio Ferrao	gentilidade	prison
18	1607	Manoel Pinto	gentilidade	prison
19	1607	Paulo de Lima	gentilidade	prison
20	1608	Agostinho de Sousa	gentilidade	polvara
21	1608	Diogo Frois	gentilidade	
22	1610	Pero Azevedo	gentilidade	
23	1610	Pero de Sousa	gentilidade	

24	1610	Bras Siqueira	gentilidade	
25	1610	Manoel Pinto	bigamy	galleys
26	1610	Maluchatim	gentilidade	polvara
27	1618	Pero Lobo	temple visit	
28	1618	Manoel Miranda	devil worship	whipped
29	1623	Sebastiao Braganca	gentilidade	
30	1650	Andre de Sousa	false testimony	
31	1650	Antonio da Silva	false testimony	exile
32	1650	Salvador de Sousa	bigamy	galleys
33	1650	Catharina Mendonca	sorcery	exile
34	1651	Domingas Loba	gentilidade	prison
35	1651	Domingas Toscana	gentilidade	prison
36	1653	Gaspar de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
37	1653	Manoel Munis	gentilidade	prison
38	1653	Diogo Lobo	gentilidade	prison
39	1653	Nicalao da Crus	gentilidade	prison
40	1653	Joao Munis	gentilidade	prison
41	1653	Francisco Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
42	1653	Diogo Fonseca	gentilidade	prison
43	1653	Domingos Roiz	gentilidade	prison
44	1653	Manoel de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
45	1653	Maria Loba	gentilidade	prison
46	1653	Miguel da Crus	gentilidade	prison
47	1653	Goncalo Dias	gentilidade	polvara
48	1653	Bernadim Faria	gentilidade	galleys
49	1653	Pedro de Sousa	gentilidade	galleys
50	1653	Lucas de Sa	received dead	
51	1653	Maria Castro	gentilidade	prison
52	1653	Maria da Costa	gentilidade	prison
53	1653	Catharina Pereira	gentilidade	prison
54	1653	Maria Nunes	gentilidade	prison
55	1653	Francesca Borges	gentilidade	prison

56	1653	Isabel Nunes	gentilidade	prison
57	1653	Catharina Pinta	gentilidade	prison
58	1653	Isabel Pinta	gentilidade	prison
59	1653	Maria Monteira	gentilidade	prison
60	1653	Maria da Crus	died in prison	
61	1653	Jeronimo da Crus	gentilidade	burnt
62	1653	Diogo Miranda	gentilidade	burnt
63	1653	Lucrecia Loba	gentilidade	burnt effigy
64	1664	Goncalo Lopez	gentilidade	prison
65	1664	Maria Cardosa	false witness	polvara
66	1666	Philippa Pereira	gentilidade	prison
67	1687	Anna Ferrao	gentilidade	prison
68	1690	Joao Cafre	Islamism	instruction
69	1700	Fatia Xetty	mainland farm	relieved
70	1700	Ganaba Sinay	mainland farm	fined
71	1700	Manoel (Camoty)	mainland farm	relieved
72	1702	Bernardo	gentilidade	prison
73	1702	Ventura Roiz	gentilidade	prison
74	1702	Diogo Noronha	gentilidade	prison
75	1702	Salvador de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
76	1702	Joseph Mendonca	gentilidade	prison
77	1702	Antonio Lobo	gentilidade	prison
78	1702	Francisco Pereira	gentilidade	prison
79	1702	Francisco Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
80	1702	Luis de Sousa	gentilidade	galleys
81	1702	Balthazar de Sousa	received dead	prison
82	1702	Sabina de Faya	gentilidade	prison
83	1702	Mariana Lobo	gentilidade	prison
84	1702	Martha Pereira	gentilidade	prison
85	1702	Isabel Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
86	1702	Maria Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
87	1702	Maria Carraso	gentilidade	prison

88	1702	Paschoal Roiz	gentilidade	prison
89	1702	Joao da Cunha	gentilidade	prison
90	1702	Lourenco Roiz	gentilidade	prison
91	1702	Paschoal de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
92	1702	Phellipe Gama	gentilidade	prison
93	1702	Joao Lobo	gentilidade	prison
94	1702	Domingos Pereira	gentilidade	prison
95	1702	Salvador Rocha	gentilidade	prison
96	1702	Andre de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
97	1702	Lourenco Rego	gentilidade	prison
98	1702	Gaspar da Silva	gentilidade	prison
99	1702	Joao Pereira	gentilidade	prison
100	1702	Antonio Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
101	1702	Manoel Lobo	gentilidade	prison
102	1702	Andre Lobo	gentilidade	prison
103	1702	Pedro Carvalho	gentilidade	prison
104	1702	Sebastiao de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
105	1702	Bras Soares	gentilidade	prison
106	1702	Goncalo Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
107	1702	Francisco Lobo	gentilidade	prison
108	1702	Luis Lobo	gentilidade	prison
109	1702	Joao Fonseca	gentilidade	prison
110	1702	Sebastiao de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
111	1702	Domingos Noronha	gentilidade	prison
112	1702	Francisco Cotto	gentilidade	prison
113	1702	Augustino da Silva	gentilidade	prison
114	1702	Joao da Silva	gentilidade	prison
115	1702	Catharina Roiz	gentilidade	prison
116	1702	Maria Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
117	1709	Joseph Ferrao	died in prison	
118	1709	Francisco Pereira	died in prison	
119	1709	Bernardo Dias	died in prison	

120	1709	Andre Fernandes	died in prison	
121	1709	Joseph Rocha	died in prison	
122	1709	Antonio Fernandes	died in prison	
123	1709	Simao Mendonca	died in prison	
124	1709	Jeronimo de Sousa	died in prison	
125	1709	Antonio Roiz sr	died in prison	
126	1709	Simao Vaz	died in prison	
127	1709	Domingos de Sousa	died in prison	
128	1709	Joao de Sousa	died in prison	
129	1709	Simao Fernandes	died in prison	
130	1709	Francisco Monis	died in prison	
131	1709	Silverio Rego	died in prison	
132	1709	Thome Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
134	1709	Diogo Lobo	gentilidade	prison
135	1709	Simao Gonsalves	gentilidade	prison
136	1709	Ventura Gomez	gentilidade	prison
136	1709	Lourenco Misquita	gentilidade	prison
137	1709	Phellipe Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
138	1709	Antonio Moraes	gentilidade	prison
139	1709	Antonio de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
140	1709	Luis Misquita	gentilidade	prison
141	1709	Alexio Monis	gentilidade	prison
142	1709	Bras Misquita	gentilidade	prison
143	1709	Domingos Noronha	gentilidade	prison
144	1709	Alexio Gouvea	received dead	
145	1709	Jeronimo de Sousa	received dead	
146	1709	Domingos de Sousa	received dead	
147	1709	Lucio Noronha	received dead	
148	1709	Francisco de Sousa	received dead	
149	1709	Francisco Fernandes	received dead	
150	1709	Augustino Tavora	received dead	
151	1709	Luis de Sousa jr	received dead	

152	1709	Antonio Lobo	received dead	
153	1709	Diogo de Sousa	received dead	
154	1709	Domingo Rodrigues	received dead	
155	1709	Pedro Soares	received dead	
156	1709	Salvador Ferrao	received dead	
157	1709	Isabel Loba	died in prison	
158	1709	Catharina Fernandes	died in prison	
159	1710	Angela de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
160	1711	Augustino Rodrigues	gentilidade	prison
161	1711	Francisco Misquita	gentilidade	prison
162	1711	Matheus de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
163	1711	Domingos de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
164	1711	Manoel de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
165	1711	Bernardo Soares	gentilidade	prison
166	1711	Diogo de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
167	1711	Antonio Lobo	gentilidade	prison
168	1711	Diogo Siqueira	received dead	
169	1711	Augustino de Sousa	received dead	
170	1711	Anna da Silva	gentilidade	prison
171	1711	Sabina Noronha	gentilidade	prison
172	1712	Salvador Afonso	absolved	
173	1712	Pascoal Fernandes	false testimony	galleys
174	1712	Antonio de Sousa	false testimony	galleys
175	1712	Mariana Pinta	absolved	
176	1712	Izabel de Sousa	gentilidade	prison
177	1712	Pascoal Misquita	gentilidade	burnt
178	1712	Bernardo Noronha	gentilidade	burnt effigy
179	1712	Francisco Cardozo	gentilidade	burnt effigy
180	1712	Diogo de Sousa	gentilidade	burnt effigy
181	1712	Roque Roiz	gentilidade	burnt effigy
182	1713	Diogo Noronha	gentilidade	burnt effigy
183	1717	Diogo de Mello	sorcery	seclusion

184	1721	Andreza Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
185	1726	Trinocercio Ferrao	false testimony	galleys
186	1726	Antonia Ferrao	false testimony	fined
187	1732	Antonio Garcia	relapse 1716	prison
188	1732	Domingos Lobo	sorcery	exile
189	1732	Anna Rodrigues	gentilidade	prison
190	1732	Luzia	gentilidade	prison
191	1732	Domingas Fernandes	died in prison	
192	1733	Matheus Lobo	gentilidade	prison
193	1733	Salvador Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
194	1733	Pedro Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
195	1733	Antonio Fernandes	received dead	
196	1733	Garcia	gentilidade	prison
197	1741	Ignacio de Sousa	sorcery	exile
198	1750	Salvador Fernandes	gentilidade	penances
199	1750	Matheus Fernandes	gentilidade	penances
200	1750	Alexio de Sa	gentilidade	penances
201	1752	Paschoal de Sa	gentilidade	penances
202	1761	Vincento Fernandes	gentilidade	penances
203	1761	Diogo Lobo	gentilidade	penances
204	1761	Caetano da Cunha	temple visit	penances
205	1761	Goncalo Siqueira	temple visit	penances
206	1763	Thome Lobo	gentilidade	penances
207	1763	Joao Fernandes	gentilidade	penances
208	1763	Theresa Fernandes	gentilidade	penances
209	1763	Joao Fernandes	gentilidade	prison
210	1765	Rodrigo Paes	gentilidade	prison
211	1765	Francisco Fonseca	gentilidade	prison
212	1765	Domingos Fernandes	gentilidade	burnt
213	1766	Diogo Faria	gentilidade	penances
214	1766	Joao Faria	gentilidade	penances
215	1768	Luis Castelino	gentilidade	exile

216	1769	Salvador Rodrigues	died in prison	absolved
217	1769	Sebastiao Rodrigues	received dead	
218	1769	Domingas Fernandes	died in prison	absolved
219	1771	Joaquim Moraes	hindering Inquisition	exile

Year-wise compilations of Aldonkars prosecuted provide some interesting insights into Aldona's encounter with Goa's Inquisition. In the first six decades, the Inquisition prosecuted just 28 persons from Aldona, 15 of them in 1607. Details of 21 public autos-da-fe held between 1650 and 1699 contain the names of 39 Aldonkars, 29 of them in 1653. The greatest number, 113, more than 50% of the total, were prosecuted in just 13 years from 1700 to 1712.

The earliest cases - 1560-1623

Twenty-nine persons, all males, were prosecuted by the Inquisition between 1560 and 1623 (*Figueira Reportorio*). Ten were born to Christian parents or baptised before becoming adults, 17 were converts, and one non-Christian. The Inquisition lists only the names of Christian parents. The father's pre-conversion name of some converts appear in the Tombo do Aldona.

The first Aldonkar to fall foul of the Inquisition was Lourenco Ferrao, son of Antonio Ferrao and Leonor Alvares. Married to Domingas Fernandes, he appeared at the auto-da-fe at the Se Cathedral in 1592. He had consulted sorcerers and sacrificed goats and roosters at temples in order to secure good health for certain unnamed persons. He abjured de leve, was whipped, and paid a fine of 100 pardaos. He was convicted again in 1607 for worshipping in temples. He now abjured de vehemente and was sent to the polvara for two years.

Lourenco Ferrao belonged to the third vangod. His name appears in the first meeting of September 22, 1595, and a few later meetings.

Lourenco's father Antonio was prominent in other meetings. Convicted in 1607 for gentilidade, he was imprisoned and sentenced to wear the penitential dress for six months. Two other Ferraos were convicted for gentilidade that year. One was Pero, Antonio's son, a widower, and the other was Balthazar, son of Juvani Ferrao. Antonio, son of Anta Naique, was baptised before becoming an adult. It appears that the Ferraos were among the first converts in Aldona.

One more Ferrao was prosecuted, in 1606, Antonio, son of Francisco and Joana, meirinho of the church, for visiting a temple.

Five others baptised at birth or before adulthood were convicted by the Inquisition, among them Pero de Souza and Baltazar de Souza. Souzas are found in the second, fourth, fifth, and eighth vangods. Baltazar's father's name was Christopher. A Christopher de Souza represented the eighth vangod in the ganvkari meeting of 1595. Belchior Fernandes is listed as the son of Anthony Fernandes in the ganvkari records. Goncalo Albuquerque's profession is given as a scribe. He recorded the minutes of many ganvkari meetings.

Sebastiao Braganca, Brahman married to Ana Loba was convicted of gentilidade in 1623. His process lists him as a 1602 relapse, but Aldona does not feature in the lists for 1602. Since he does not appear in any other list, it appears his earlier file was lost.

It is possible to find out the pre-conversion names of some of the fathers of the 17 converted as adults from ganvkari records. There were at least four Manoel Pintos, sons of Raulu Kamat (sixth vangod), Narse Prabhu (eighth), and Vital and Ra(mu) Prabhu (fourth). Of these, one was imprisoned in 1607 for gentilidade, and wore the sanbenito for six months. Another was whipped and exiled to the galleys for five years for bigamy. Sebastio da Costa was the son of Sir Camotim, and Duarte Monis of Quite Porobo.

Paulo de Lima, convicted of gentilidade in 1607, was the son of Mhalap Nayak of the 10th vangod. Mhalap is shown as being the father of three other unconverted sons, Lak, Bogan, and Ganesh. Manoel Siqueira, son of Narse Nayak of the fifth vangod was convicted of gentilidade in 1607. Agostinho de Souza (Ramu Prabhu, fourth vangod, 1607) was sent to the polvara for gentilidade. From the sixth vangod, Bernardino Azevedo, son of Raulu Kamat, and Pero Azevedo were convicted of gentilidade in 1607 and 1608 respectively.

Maluchatim (Mhala Xetty, goldsmith, 11th vangod) was the only non-Christian from Aldona convicted in the first six decades of the Inquisition's operations. In 1610, he was whipped and sent to the polvara for a year for sacrificing to the devil in the search for treasure. Another probable member of the 11th vangod, Pero Lobo (goldsmith), was sentenced in 1618 for worshipping in a temple for good health. He had been baptised along with his mother, Helena Fernandes. Why he received the surname Lobo while his mother became a Fernandes will remain an interesting question as both were baptised at the same time.

The auto-da-fe of 1653

Bardes contributed 109 of the 221 persons sentenced in this auto-da-fe. Aldona's contribution consisted mainly of Brahman ganvkars convicted of gentilidade. Pedro de Sousa, reconciled in 1627, was reprieved in accordance with the law granting leniency to native Christians. He wore the fogo revolto samara and was sent to the galleys for five years.

Jeronimo Crus and Diogo Miranda were burnt. Jeronimo's story is starkly tragic. His wife Maria, a convert named Sonegui, died in prison. Also imprisoned were his sons Nicolao and Miguel, and Nicolao's wife Isabel Nunes. What torturous thoughts swamped their minds as they were led back to their cells and their father to the stake? Jeronimo must have been past middle age. Except for Maria, the family appears

to have been Christian from birth as no pre-Christian names are given. Jeronimo may have been widowed and married Maria after she converted. Perhaps a revival of gentilidade in the family came with her.

1700 - 1712

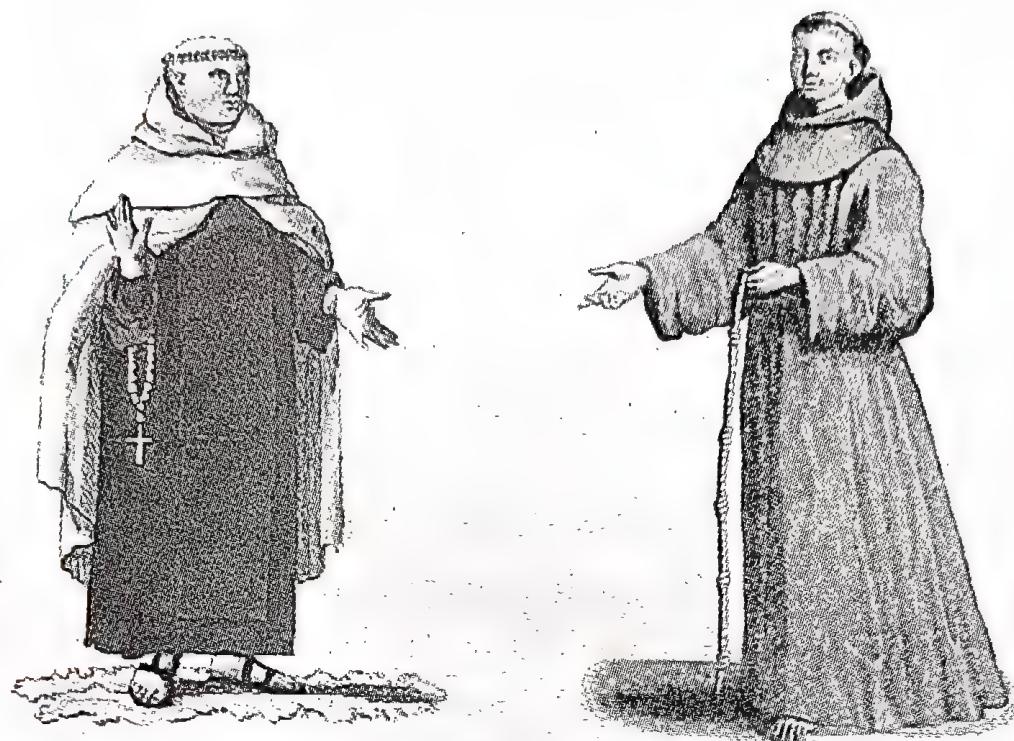
This was a period of intensified Maratha (Bhonsles) invasions of Bardes. The viceroy's vigorous response enabled Goa to capture the islands of Corjeum and Panchim, and destroy the fort at Bicholim. Forts were built along the frontier as a further defensive measure (Fonseca 1878: 85).

That these 13 years provided over 50% of cases is a clear reflection on the Inquisition's role in containing dissent and potential desertions within the Estado during times of stress. At least one inquisitorial visit to Mapusa, Aldona, Revora, and Nadora took place in 1710 (Inventory 1774).

Of the 48 persons sentenced in 1702, Luis de Sousa of Quitla received the harshest sentence: six years in the galleys. Of those indicted in 1709, 17 died in the prison and were absolved. Another 13 were received dead. That all were men, suggests their involvement in the conflict. The deaths in prison may have resulted from an epidemic, or ill-treatment in Aldona's civil jail.

Paschoal Misquita had abjured at the meza in June 26, 1709. His name, therefore, does not appear in the public auto-da-fe of June 9, 1709. He was burned in 1712 as a relapse. Five others were burned in effigy. Evidently, they had crossed to safety across the porous border.

A telling statistic confirms Aldona witnessed significant emigration during the first half of the eighteenth century. Its contribution to the Inquisition's case files fell to just 8% of Bardes's total convictions post 1740 (Chapter 23).



(Abbot Gasquet, English Monastic life, London 1904)



Chapter Twenty Five

Padres and Friars

The Inquisition sentenced at least 287 priests and friars, about 1.5% of the total number of persons investigated. European visitors refer to the many resident priests in Old Goa even as it descended into desolation and ruin. Priests and friars were in the vanguard of missionary activity in India, the guides and mentors of Christians, and an integral element of Church and State policy. Like soldiers in a modern army, they had different functions but all had to march to a prescribed drill and discipline. Deviations undermined that policy. The Inquisition punished deviant priests, mostly in private, but sometimes in public to mitigate the scandal caused.

Fifty-year old Pe Luis da Madre de Deus heard his sentence at the convent of St Augustine on February 23, 1612 standing bareheaded and with a lighted candle in his hand. He abjured de vehemente for heresy, paid the cost of his trial, was suspended from his orders, and exiled for nine years to another convent, the first three years of which he spent in its prison performing spiritual penances. The entire process was carried out in private before his fellow clerics. The scandal was contained, the message was conveyed (ANTT: PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/16082).

In contrast, Pe Joao da Costa was publicly executed after a long trial. His crime as a serial sodomite was not only a public scandal that undermined the moral authority of priesthood but was also looked upon as a crime against God's natural law that ensured social order. It required exemplary public punishment.

The appointment of priests

With the king taking a personal interest in ecclesiastical appointments, the Padroado Real aimed at keeping ecclesiastical activity in Goa purely a Portuguese affair. European priests were required to obtain clearance from Lisbon and sail in Portuguese vessels. The clergy belonged to two main divisions. Secular priests came directly under the archbishop's jurisdiction and were largely of native origin. Others belonged to a number of religious orders whose headquarters were mainly in Rome. In the early years, there was a conviction among religious orders that native and mistico priests did not have the strength and ability to endure the hard life of a missionary resulting in religious congregations being composed predominantly of Europeans.

Men joined the priesthood for different reasons, some out of conviction, some for a career, some even for survival. Many newly arrived soldiers in Goa discovered they were paid only during campaigns. These being limited to the dry season, they depended on charity during the long monsoon months. Others found the welcoming shelter of the monastery offered an escape from hardship and uncertainty. It created a body of clergy poorly instructed in doctrine, like 22-year-old Pe Hilario Correia (1609-1616, Macau), prosecuted for heresy, but absolved from excommunication and exempted from abjuration.

Heresy and doctrinal matters

Heresy and doctrinal matters constituted the majority of offences

for which priests were prosecuted.

Pe Matheus Francisco Cebrian (40, 1651) from Valencia had abjured de leve after being convicted of reckless and scandalous behaviour, faking miracles, abductions, claiming false visions, revelations, and apparitions of God, and making heretical and erroneous propositions. He was suspended from preaching and hearing confessions, and exiled for 10 years to the banks of the River Cuama (Karumeni) at the mouth of which lies the port of Manapad, the first Portuguese settlement on the Fishery Coast. Exile only pushed him deeper into heresy. Thirteen years later, he was convicted of having a pact with the devil, and heretical beliefs regarding Our Lady, Jesus Christ, the Holy Trinity, and other theological issues. He abjured em forma in 1664, was suspended from exercising his ministry and sentenced to live the rest of his life in seclusion.

1588: Pe Afonso Barbuda (35, Portuguese, Bengal); heresy; suspended, exile Lisbon monastery

1650: Pe Gregorio de Santo Agostinho; uttering views contrary to doctrine; removed from his ministry, exile Ceylon

1679: Pe Francisco Negreiros, commissar of Sao Thome, Mylapore; irregularities in the funeral ceremonies of Pe Francisco Cristo; deprived of office, spiritual penances, payment of costs

1691: Pe Francisco Miranda; heresy, apostasy; expelled, escaped across the border, effigy burnt

1701: Pe Antonio Ferreira Sequeira (66, Tana); negligence in conducting a marriage; suspended but not punished due to his ignorance

Heresy assumed alarming proportions among priests during the intensification of the Maratha conflict, a time of ballooning tension with visions of an approaching apocalypse for the survival of the Estado. Three public autos-da-fe were celebrated in 1736, on January 15, August 16, and December 30. Five persons were relaxed for gentilidade, four of them priests from Salcete, in the last one: Pe Constantino Joao Roiz (Rodrigues), Pe George Pereira SJ (33), Pe Barolomeu Dias (Sudro, 50, in effigy), Pe Custodio Tavora (Pe Ungarete SJ). The fifth, Matheus Rodrigues (20), was burnt as a dogmatic heretic (1774 Inventory ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-CG-039-0462_m0069; Baiao 1945: 285-7; Moreira 1863b).

Pe Constantino was just 28 years old when he was convicted as an impenitent heretic, defrocked, and burned. From the village of Racaim in Salcete, he confessed to crossing the border with other Christians to visit a temple and meet a botto. There he shaved his head, took a ritual bath, drank cow urine mixed with cow dung, and made offerings to the god Betalo. The botto urged him to continue observing such rituals when he returned to Salcete.

From that moment, his sentence reads, he had always lived like a gentio despite continuing with his priestly functions. This was anathema. Not only had he received the sacraments sacrilegiously, but in officiating as a Christian priest he had caused other Christians to unknowingly commit idolatry as well. He was convicted of heresy and apostasy, dressing as a gentio, partaking in their feasts, praying and making offerings to idols, and worshipping Mamay, Rama, and Narayana. After undergoing 11 months of interrogation still refusing to recant and repent, he was led through the streets dressed in the samara by the officials of secular justice to the place of execution on the banks of the Mandovi, garrotted, and burnt to ash. The wind scattered his ashes, erasing all memory of a young man who continued to honour his ancestral gods after becoming a Christian priest.

Matheus was Pe Constantino's brother, and Pe George Pereira (Sudro, Cortalim), his brother-in-law. Pe George was chaplain in the Jesuit hospital in Goa where Pe Ungarete was an apothecary. Pe Constantino's father, Agostinho Rodrigues, had an African slave, Luiza, who, having died, escaped sentencing. Three children of Joao Roiz of Racaim, Antonio (16), Miguel (18), and Anna (14) were also convicted. The relationship between Agostinho and Joao is not clear. Pe George Pereira's father, Manoel, had a cousin Domingos. His two sons Manoel (14) and Pascal (18) were also sentenced. In 1738, Manoel Pereira confessed that he had abandoned the faith for over 50 years.

In one year, two closely related families in a small village were left without their elders.

Impeding the Inquisition

Priests were prosecuted for hindering the operations of the Inquisition in different ways. Some cases involving Jesuits reveal power struggles between the two powerful organisations. The case of Pe Francisco Vieira (1617), Provincial of the Society of Jesus, visitor to China and Japan, and senior deputy in the Inquisition, was transferred to the General Council in Lisbon. Pe Bartolomeu Cabral (1618), a Jesuit living at Bom Jesus was arrested in March and sentenced a fortnight later. He abjured de leve, barefooted, bareheaded, and carrying a lighted candle, before priests of other orders. He was exiled to Cochin and debarred from occupying any office. The extremely short time gap between his arrest and punishment suggests an on-going confrontation and the Inquisition's assertion of primacy.

Pe Manoel Anjos (1686), an Augustinian, was exiled to Macau for three years for hindering the Inquisition's operations and made to return double the money he had misappropriated. Pe Antonio de Nossa Senhora (1699), a Dominican and commissar of the Inquisition, was incarcerated for two years and exiled for four for mistreating co-

workers. Pe Boaventura da Gama (1766, secular, Saligao) was exiled to Diu for intimidating persons who had deposed at the meza.

Solicitation

Celibacy is an essential requirement of priesthood. The Inquisition prosecuted priests who misused the sacrament of confession to solicit and provoke women into dishonourable actions. In 1612, the pope instructed inquisitors to proceed rigorously against priests who solicited favours from women and boys in the confessional. Inquisitors were cautioned to proceed with discretion and without compromising the secrets of the confessional. Serious complications arose in recording evidence in such cases, and in ascertaining the moral character and motive of the accuser. Torture was sometimes used if the accused priest was known to have had a bad character, or to determine if his intentions were heretical or lascivious (Limborch 1731: 78).

Pe Stanislau Torrente, an Italian Jesuit, was imprisoned for solicitation in the confessional. The arrest was made after due investigations into the denunciations made by Maria Pereira (widow, 33, City) on February 16, 1675. The crime had taken place four to five years ago. The priest had been denounced earlier in November 1672 by Mariana da Costa, a Japanese widow. She complained that about 15 years ago in Macau, he had made overtures to her and touched her inappropriately in the confessional. The case files were transferred to Macau for investigation and Pe Stanislau Torrente's name was entered in the notebook of soliciting priests (ANTT: PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/12794).

Cases of solicitation increased towards the end of the eighteenth century. In 1765, seven secular and religious priests from different regions were convicted. Six priests, four of them Augustinians, were found guilty in 1781. Two of them were also convicted of sodomy.

Soliciting confessors were deprived from hearing confessions and exiled.

Sodomy

Pe Simao da Cunha (1645, 40, Portuguese, Augustinian) was suspended from his orders and deported from Lisbon to India to serve his sentence. The case papers of Pe Joao Matos (1634, 42, mestico), born of an Armenian father and Chinese mother in Macau, were sent to Lisbon.

Married persons taking sacred orders

A married person becoming a priest was punished for undermining the office of priesthood and matrimony. He was deprived of all benefices and given penalties and spiritual penances.

Impersonation

Joao Baptista (1664, Portuguese, Mozambique) was sent to Mombasa's polvara for eight years for saying Mass after being expelled from a religious order.

A Mass celebrated by an imposter was considered idolatry as it amounted to adoring plain bread and wine instead of the body and blood of Christ. Fraudulent priests who heard confessions and absolved people were considered abusers of the sacrament of confession. An imposter in secular orders was publicly whipped and condemned to the galleys for six to 10 years. An imposter in religious orders abjured at the meza and was exiled for seven to 10 years to a distant convent and required to pass two years in prison living on bread and water.

Sigilists

Sigilists are priests who reveal confessional secrets. The king allowed the Inquisition to punish sigilists as heretics in 1769. They were defrocked and their property confiscated before being relaxed to secular justice as negative heretics. If they confessed with signs of contrition, they were exiled for 10 years. In the absence of convincing

proof but the presence of strong circumstantial evidence, a sigilist abjured de vehemente in an auto-da-fe.

Custodio de Sousa (1685, Brahman, lawyer, Chorao) abjured de leve for falsely denouncing his confessor as a sigilist.

Other cases

Pe Nicolau Cerveira (1601, vicar general and Bishop of China) was absolved by the General Council after his case was transferred to Lisbon. Pe Antonio de Nossa Senhora (1699, Dominican, commissar), for mistreating his co-workers, was imprisoned for two years, exiled for four, and permanently suspended. Pe Carlos de Jesus Maria (1738, Franciscan), for usurping religious functions, was absolved after paying costs.





Chapter Twenty Six

Those Not of the Faith

Pessoas infieis were 'persons not of the Faith' and therefore could not be prosecuted for heresy. They could, however, be prosecuted for various offences that undermined Christianity in the Estado: for instance the public performance of gentile rites, sorcery, hindering the Inquisition, extortion in the name of the Inquisition, defying laws on the conversion of orphans, inducing Christians to reconvert, and other such activities.

The first inquisitors were confronted with the dilemma of deciding whether the prevailing range of gentile rites and rituals constituted religious practices or were just harmless local traditions unconnected to religion. They sought Lisbon's opinion on how to deal with converts who continued to associate with gentiles. In 1601, the General Council determined that gentiles could be tried only if their actions posed the threat of apostasy among converts. In the case of two gentiles who created a new sect in Diu promoting the idea that men should stop eating and drinking, the General Council advised that they could be prosecuted only if they had persuaded Christians to adopt their exotic belief, otherwise the Inquisition had no jurisdiction "as they are Gentiles" (Faria 2014).

Continuous efforts were made by State and ecclesiastical authority to shield converts from relapsing. The king issued a law in 1581 forbidding the public performance of gentile ceremonies within the Estado (BNR: mss1312889_049). In 1597, he instructed the viceroy to examine legal provisions for implementing the decrees passed by the Provincial Councils banning the public practice of gentile rituals (BNR: mss1352117_194). There were many hurdles in doing so. For instance, non-Christians complained about the inconveniences resulting from the ban on the public performance of non-Christian marriages, and the harassment from Muslims when they were conducted across the border. Finally, they were allowed to be performed in designated and remote places. The law on handing over orphans into the care of the Pays dos Christaos, a priest appointed to take care of the interests of new converts, was widely resented and defied in many cases.

The range of pre-Christian rituals proscribed by the Edict of 1736 testifies to the impossible task confronting the inquisitors. A communication from Lisbon's Inquisition in 1797 reveals that the administration was still active in suppressing the public practice of gentile religious ceremonies. The governor had been granted power to act in cases involving influential people, including Catholics (BNR: mss1352118_091).

Numbers and punishments

Non-Christians constituted 25% (1,767) of 6,945 persons, whose religious affiliations are known, prosecuted in 84 autos-da-fe between 1650 and 1773. Of these, 1,562 (85%) cases were conducted between 1685 and 1736, a time of intensifying economic and military reverses. During this period, non-Christians made up 36% of the total. The overwhelmingly largest number was convicted for gentilidade. Hindering the Inquisition and sorcery were of some significance.

Offenders were commonly whipped in public, sent to the polvara or galleys, and/or exiled. Fines were increasingly imposed from the eighteenth century, some being compensation to victims, and the rest used to feed the poor in the Inquisition's prison. Appresentados were often relieved of penance, as were about 180 penitents who chose to convert. The names of 109 persons from Ilhas found guilty of performing marriages as per gentile rites in 1686 and who preferred baptism to punishment are listed in ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-CG-1.

	Autos-da-fe	Total	Infieis	% Infieis	Provncia do Norte infieis	% Provncia do Norte infieis
1650-1666	7	1,161	69	6	43	62
1685-1736	55	4,322	1,562	36	1,328	85
1741-1773	22	1,462	136	9	5	4
Total	84	6,945	1,767	25	1,376	78

Statistics for conviction of non-Christians

Four percent were absolved for different reasons.

Deugi (1700, Brahman) was relieved of penance for abandoning his profession as a joshi, and Laxmi (1702, 13, Curumbim, Bacaim) because she was a minor. Others were relieved for being ignorant of laws (1711), or being minors at the time of the offence (1717).

Socially deprived castes and classes constituted roughly 75% of non-Christian numbers. Persons belonging to the upper social strata formed roughly 20%. The remaining 5% were classified as mainly Muslims, Marathas, and Gujaratis.

With the loss of the Provncia do Norte in 1739, non-Christians practically disappeared from the Inquisition's lens, appearing in the

auto-da-fe lists in ones and twos. An exception was from 1752-61 when numbers in Ilhas reached double figures. In 1752, 13 persons from the City's Managado district were convicted of worshipping in temples. Seven were relieved of penance for appearing as appresentados. Others, including Rainay, wife of Ranio (35, Curumbim, dogmatist), were whipped and sentenced to the polvara. Ranio was exiled.

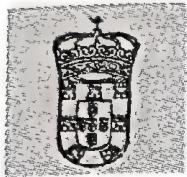
Offences and offenders

- cremating his dead son and preventing his three orphaned grandchildren from being baptised: Suisutary (1653, carpenter, Tana); whipped, polvara two years
- sorcery, pact with devil, invocations, divination: Sauda Patel (1653, Curumbim, Thane); carocha, whipped, galleys five years, exile from his village
- accompanying a Christian who was delivering his Christian woman to a gentio for malpractice: Antanaba (1660, Muslim, soldier); whipped, galleys five years
- possessing prohibited books: Tucu Xette (1689, Vanio, City); whipped, polvara three years
- keeping a Ganesh idol in his house, performing gentile rites on Sundays: Cusnambo (1689, Vanio, Santa Luzia); whipped, exile Mozambique five years
- openly celebrating Muslim festivals: six Muslim men and two women (1691, Daman); polvara three years
- false testimony against persons of his sect: Mangogi Naik (1691, Brahman), Duarcam (butcher), Ander Gandy (1691, Vanio) Fort Diu; carocha, whipped, six years, compensate victim 200 xerafins and the Inquisition 300 xerafins
- sodomy: Tricamo (1695, 33, Gujarati living in Mozambique), Ventagi (1714, Muslim, Trapor); whipped, galleys, exile, confiscation of property

- hosting a banquet according to the gentile tradition of honouring their dead: Caltaca (1695, Colle, Chaul); whipped, polvara three years
- celebrating Auly and Divali with others of his sect: Zarquo Patel (1697, Curumbim, Bacaim); whipped, polvara four years
- sacrificing animals to the devil: Querogy (1697, Tana); whipped, polvara four years
- relapse (1693) violating ban on temple service, and absenting from house of cathecumens where he was sent for wanting to convert: Dengo (1697, Brahman); exile, Brazil 10 years
- hiding gentile orphans in house to prevent their baptism: Gouary (1698, Bandarim, Trapor); whipped, polvara four years
- keeping idols in his house: Mamede (1716, Muslim, Tana); whipped
- attending gentile banquet: Seven persons (1716, Bacaim); whipped, polvara one year
- relapse (1722, gentilidade) revealing secrets of the Inquisition and inducing false testimony from another: Manica Naique (1723, Brahmin, Bacaim); whipped, polvara one year, exile
- desecrating a cross with a machete: Rama Gaunso (1727, Curumbim, Ilhas); make a new cross, 40 xerafins fine



**The deep sadness emanating from the eyes of Delia
(photographed in 1850), born into slavery
on an American plantation**



Chapter Twenty Seven

The Privileged and Underprivileged

There is so much sadness of the soul oozing out from the eyes of an African slave. Those eyes tell a story that few want to hear. Still, it must be told. This is only a very small part of the story of the slavery of an estimated 12.5 million Africans who were transported forcibly, violently, and with no hope of return. Only the young and strong, and virile women of breeding age, were taken; transportation, despite the horrific, cramped and unhygienic conditions of slave internment camps and ships, cost money. Multiply that story by a factor to account for the family members left behind, and the immensity of the true story emerges. Add to it the greed and rapacity of those who controlled that trade - slave owners, Europeans, intermediary Arabs and Indians, fellow Africans, ship owners - and the true tragedy overwhelms us.

The records of the Inquisition contain a small part of that story, of slaves brought from Africa to India. Slavery was a well-established institution in India long before the arrival of the Portuguese. Sanskrit law books define 15 categories of slaves including a captive, a slave born in the house, bought, gifted, inherited, saved from famine, and a debtor. In the Estado, like much of India, slaves became a part of the larger fabric of the underprivileged.

In Goa, a slave was known by just a single name. Slavery extinguished his identity, cultural heritage, memory of home and homeland, and much else that separates a human from a captive domestic animal. A slave was nothing more than a commodity to be bought and sold, his labour to be profited upon. Before we examine the statistics, let us revive a face, dimmed by the passage of years, that of Francisco.

There is just a passing reference to him - not in Goa but many kilometres away - in the baptism records of the Church of St Anne's in Virajpet, Kodagu. Here, a small community of Christians who had escaped Tipu's captivity had begun a new life with Pe Joao da Costa, a Goan, as their parish priest. Francisco was baptised with both water and oil on April 27, 1794. It means he was a new convert. He is identified as a *cafre* and captive for 17 years, born in Mozambique. His godparents were Francisco Coelho and his wife Juliana Pinto. It is difficult to paint a face with these bare, bleak facts without some assumptions based on correspondence preserved in Goa.

Francisco was almost certainly a victim of the slave trade that operated via Mauritius. His 17-year captivity means he was shipped in 1777. The Mhamai Kamat archives at Goa's Xavier Institute preserves a letter written by Couronat, a Frenchman, to Narayan Camotim in Pune on October 15, 1777. Couronat had sent Rs 20,000 for the purchase of ivory and healthy young African males, females, and youngsters. The Mhamai Kamats were active intermediaries in the slave trade. Narayan Camotim replied on November 1 that a ship had arrived from Mozambique on September 28 with 700 slaves, 300 of whom had already been bought by two other Frenchman (de Souza 1994: 128-9). Was Francisco one of them?

Frenchmen formed an elite mercenary contingent in Haidar Ali's army at Srirangapatna. Here, African slaves were valued for their strength and physical prowess, and took part in wrestling matches

during public celebrations. James Scurry, an English chela, writes African slaves from Madagascar (sic) had pinned him down while he was being forcibly circumcised (Scurry 1824: 61).

In Goa, Africans were assigned more mundane activities. They shielded their Portuguese and mestico masters from the sun with a hat or veil as they promenaded in fresh, clean clothes. A boy carried his master's scarlet cloak and his sword so that it did not hinder his walking. In the morning, he carried a cushion for him to kneel on during Mass, and kept a stool ready for him to sit on (Linschoten 1885: 193). Slaves laboured in their shops. The fairest and youngest women slaves were sent to the market place to sell all sorts of confectionaries and fruit conserves, tapestry, embroideries, fine needle work, sometimes their favours, the profits being used for their master's maintenance (Pyrard n.d.: 66).

Francisco's story may be different, but his face remains before us. His eyes tell the story of betrayal and enslavement by men and women of other races.

Catívos

Catívos were slaves of other ethnic groups brought from China, Java, Timor, Persia, Arabia, Pegu, Gujarat, Malabar, Bengal, and other regions of India. Indian orphans were often sold at low prices by desperate parents. Boys, eight years old, were exchanged for five measures of rice or three ducats. Men, with their wives and children, offered themselves as slaves to keep hunger at bay (Linschoten 1885: 184-5).

Slaves were driven daily to the auction. A sale took place after a thorough examination of their physical features, skills, and accomplishments: "You see there very pretty and elegant girls and women from all countries of India, most of whom can play upon instruments, embroider, sew very finely, and do all kinds of work, such

as the making of sweetmeats, preserves, etc. All these slaves are very cheap... Girls that are virgins are sold as such... They deem it no sin to have intercourse with their slaves whom they have bought, so long as they are not married... those to whom they are usually most attracted are the Caffre girls of Mozambique and other places in Africa, who are as wondrously black, with curly hair..." (Pyrard n.d.: 65).

The auctions were held at the Leilao, adjacent to the Sabayo Palace before its renovation. The sounds and much else probably carried to the inquisitors as they went about their business.

The social fabric of the Estado

The Inquisition's documents provide an insight into Goa's social groups. Broadly, they comprised the socially privileged, deprived classes, and foreigners (Portuguese, French, English, Sicilians, Spanish, Dutch, Germans, Maltese, Italians, Armenian, Singalese, Ethiopian, Japanese, Javanese, Burmese), including misticos and topazes.

The first group included Brahmins, Prabhus, bottos and joshis, Charodos, Vanios, tax collectors, and goldsmiths. Wealthy Brahman merchants trading in a wide variety of luxury and essential goods dominated commerce: "they buy by the great, and sell them againe by the peece or ells, wherein they are verie cunning, and naturally subtil" (Linschoten 1885: 228-230). There was a street where Vanios from Gujarat, highly skilled in cutting precious stones, pearls and corals, sold gem stones. Other streets were occupied by gold, silver, and copper smiths, carpenters, dealers in corn, rice, spices, timber and a great variety of goods. Brokers and money dealers facilitated this commerce.

Brahmins were at the apex of the Indian social fabric. They served the king as ambassadors and in offices requiring trust, loyalty, and expertise. The king did nothing without their council and consent. As temple priests, they had great authority over other Indians. Gujaratis

were fairer complexioned than Brahmans, and very similar in features and physique to Europeans. Some of their women were, in fact, “white and clearer of complexion” than Portuguese women (Linschoten 1885: 247, 255).

In contrast were the underprivileged. Dark-skinned “Canarijns and Corumbijns are the most contemptible, and miserablest (people) of (all) India...” (Linschoten 1885: 263). Women left their breasts uncovered. Many were Christians. Their condition was truly pathetic: “they are so miserable, that for a penny they would (indure to) be whipped, (and) they eate so little, that it seemeth they live by the aire, they are likewise most of them leane and weake of limes, of little strength and very corwardes, whereby the Portingales doe them great outrage and villanie, using them like dogges and beasts.”

Most belonged to the lesser privileged castes and professions like Bandarim, Curumbim, Sudro, Colle, Parava, alparqueiro (sapaterio, cobbler), faras (servant), ferreiro (blacksmith), butiqueiro (butcher), oleiro (potter), pescador (machim, fisherman), mainato (washerman),



barqueiro (boatman), saleiro (salt dealer), hortalao (gardener), boy (palanquin carrier), carpinteiro (carpenter), cavoqueiro (digger), bailadeira (temple dancer), barbeiro (barber), pintor (painter), podeiro (baker), tecelao (weaver), alfaiate (tailor), tintureiro (dyer), and catuleiro (cartier).

Percentages

Of 6,424 persons sentenced by the Inquisition between 1650 and 1773, 1,772 (27%) persons came from socially privileged groups, and 4,249 (66%) from lesser privileged castes and professions. Persons of other nations comprised the rest.

During the politically troubled period between 1685 and 1736, when the Inquisition focused on the North, socially underprivileged numbers jumped from 40% to 71%. They continued to remain high (73%) even after the province was lost. To allow this shift in focus to the North, the Inquisition had begun appointing Christians from the

	Total	Privileged	Percent	Underprivileged	Percent
1650-1666	1,128	512	45	452	40
1685-1736	4,039	962	24	2,879	71
1741-1773	1,257	298	24	918	73
Total	6,424	1,772	27	4,249	66

privileged classes as naiques in Goa. Correspondence between the inquisitors and Portugal confirm that naiques had effectively taken over some of their responsibilities. The resultant reduction in the Inquisition's visibility was noticed by a visiting Englishman Lockyer

(1706), who wrote “The Inquisition of Goa was formerly very strict, but of late it is not much talk’d of...” (Lockyer 1711: 266).

The naiques (Feitler 2008; Faria 2014)

The naique appeared as an official of the Inquisition around 1690, as a native substitute for the white familiare. He served as an interpreter, the inquisitor’s eyes and ears, and oversaw the good behaviour of local Christians in his region.

Naiques were men of merit and social status appointed after due diligence as to their character and financial and social standing. The office, coming with privileges and powers, opened the door to social ascendancy and attracted aspirants. The king’s directive of 1728 limited numbers in Ilhas (12), Salcete (30), and Bardes (15). Inquisitors attested that naiques were always prompt and diligent in carrying out their duties, and advocated, as members of its family, they had every right to the same privileges granted to familiares (BNR: BN-25.1-005-n.215).

A naique’s misdemeanours were severely punished. The Inquisition defended its right to try them even in cases falling within the purview of secular authority. Such was the case with Manuel Colaco, a naique from Rachol, arrested for assaulting two brothers, Manoel and Paulo, watchmen of Antonio Albuquerque’s coconut crop. Colaco petitioned the viceroy to have his case transferred from the secular court to that of the Inquisition (BNR: BN-25.1-005- n.215). The inquisitors supported this saying that the naique was a privileged person without whose services it was impossible to prosecute cases, take denunciations, and call for witnesses in the many cases involving persons of various sects, languages, and nations. The civil court contested the Inquisition’s jurisdiction. Eventually, the king decided in favour of the Inquisition.

Manoel paid dearly. On November 13, 1726, he was deprived of his office, exiled from Salcete for a year, and sentenced to pay 100 xerafins to

the Inquisition, 50 xerafins to Manoel, 25 to Paulo, and all the expenses connected with the trial (ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-IL-28-16115_m001).

Antonio Menezes (44, widower, naique, Trapor) extorted money for not reporting a gentio who had hidden an idol in his house. He was whipped in the auto-da-fe of June 21, 1733, sent to the galleys for five years, and made to recompense his victim.

The powerful gentio elite

Inquisitors soon learned they could never operate effectively without the tacit co-operation of the privileged gentio class. The capture of Goa dragged Portugal into a society fragmented into numerous sub-divisions based on caste and professions but tied together by bonds created over centuries of sharing a common land.

List of naiques 1767

(ANTT: PT-TSO-CG-1031)

Salcete			
1. Francisco Almeida	Sancoale	16. Jose de Mello	Rachol
2. Manoel Abreu	Sancoale	17. Urbano Clemente	Loutolim
3. Francisco da Cunha	Coelim	18. Agostinho de Sousa	Curtorim
4. Caetano Noronha jr	Loutolim	19. Thiodorio Misquita	Benaulim
5. Christavao Gomes	Rachol	20. Fra Mergulhas	Naochim
6. Caetano Collaco	Callota	21. Jose da Silva	Margao
7. Salvador da Silva	Sancoale	22. Francisco Miranda	Margao
8. Manoel Vas	Benaulim	23. Francisco Roiz	Loutolim
9. Mathias Collaco	Rachol	24. Antonio Gracias	Margao
10. Jose de Sousa	Margao	25. Bras Peixoto	Varca
11. Salvador Miranda	Margao	26. Manoel Andrade	Margao
12. Miguel de Mello	Raya	27. Manoel da Silva	Betalbatim
13. Francisco Lopes	Chinchinim	28. Cosme Couthino	Suraulim
14. Jorge Gracias	Colva	29. Francisco Roiz	Chicalim
15. Gabriel Viegas	Chinchinim	30. Joze Gracias	Cancaulim

Bardes		Ilhas	
1. Antonio Assumpcao	Calangute	1. Miguel Anjos	Goa Velha
2. Francisco Marques	Saligao	2. Jose da Costa	Santa Anna
3. Estavao Ataide	Sirula	3. Ignacio da Costa	Curca
4. Ignacio Pinto	Candolim	4. Bernardo Roiz	Santa Luzia
5. Diogo Monteiro	Candolim	5. Francisco de Sa	Combarjua
6. Ignacio Alvares	Pilerne	6. Salvador Azavedo	Piedade
7. Ventura de Sousa	Nellur	7. Caetano de Crasto	Piedade
8. Felioe Dias	Arpora	8. Antonio Abreu	Chorao
9. Bertho de Sousa	Calangute	9. Nicolao Correa	Chorao
10. Antonio Noronha	Sirula	10. Antonio Coelho	Taleigao
11. Paulo de Sousa	Calangute	11. Antonio Gomes	S. Mathias
12. Carlos da Crus	Sirula	12. Joao Pereira	Piedade
13. Salvador Pinto	Candolim		

The pre-dominant institution around which this social network revolved was the ganvcoli. Dominated by elite sections of society, it controlled the economic, religious, and social structure within which other sections played subsidiary roles.

Albuquerque had captured Goa with the active collaboration of powerful local individuals and groups who sought to further their own interests. Timmaya from neighbouring Honavar motivated him to take Goa from Bijapur, and provided naval, military, and logistic support. Within Goa, Albuquerque was supported by ganvkars like Mala Pai from Verna, Salcete. Timmaya was rewarded with the post of *thanadar*, but soon his ambitions took him beyond his capabilities and he disappeared from the scene. Similarly frustrated, Mala Pai left for Cochin.

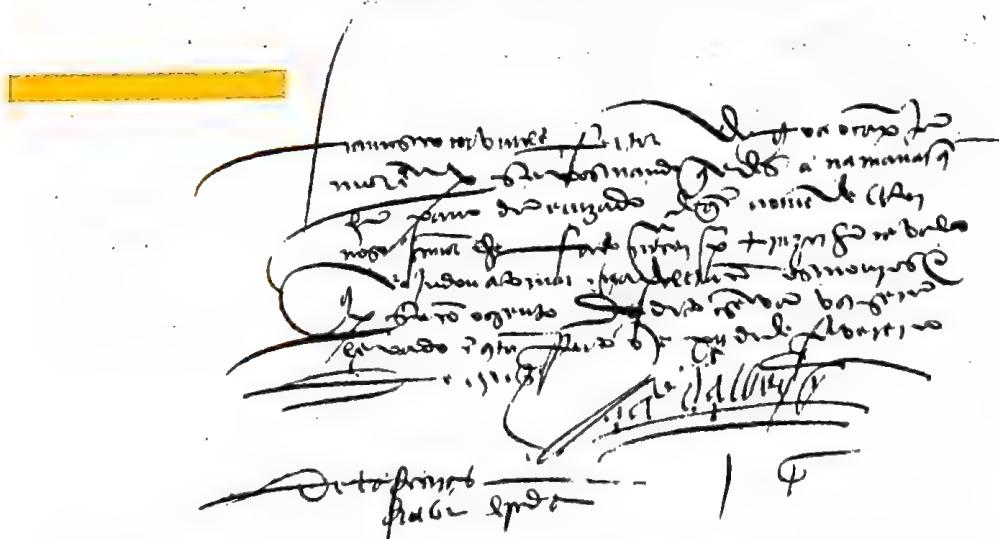
Those who helped in the capture and later defence of Goa were rewarded with salaries, privileges, cloth, silk, cash, and provisions. The ANTT preserves a number of Albuquerque's instructions to

this effect. In 1511, Fama Naique was given a spinning top and six cloths from Cambia for decapitating a Muslim. Medeo Rao and his brother received silks and grain as did the ambassadors of Cambia and Cananore. Three servants of Mel Rao, Governor of Gersoppa, received silk cloths. Captains who helped in eliminating Muslims in Gancim (Ilhas) were given 11 xerafins and four cloths of Cambia. In 1513, Aunigi received six pardaus as expenses for guarding the fortress. In 1514, Morana was paid 40 pardaus, and the following year, his children received 2 pardaus.

Over the next decades, Portugal began drawing these subjects into a tighter religious and cultural orbit. A famous case in 1548 was that of Loku, the chief tax collector, who was baptised Lucas de Sa. His conversion, and that of his family, was publicly celebrated for a week. While Loku chose to convert, others like Krishna, the chief thanadar, and Anu Sinay, the official horse trader, did not. Like them, many chose to remain in the religion of their forefathers and retain their social status by becoming useful to the State in political (diplomats, interpreters) and economic spheres, while observing the restrictive

Albuquerque's order (February 2, 1511) rewarding Nama Naique for helping capture a horse from Muslims

(ANTT: PT/TT/CC/2/94/41)



bans on the public practice of their religion. A few considered harmful to the State's policies were ordered to sell their properties and leave Goa discreetly so as not to cause a general exodus.

Brahmans and Gujarati Vanios controlled the economy as traders, merchants, tax collectors, moneylenders, artisans, commercial agents, solicitors, and scribes (de Souza 2009: 132). Some were so rich that they were followed by 30 superbly clad slaves (Tavernier 1889: 194-195). During the great famine of 1633, Vanio merchants borrowed money from the government to import grain and force hoarders into releasing their stocks (de Souza 2009: 220). In the auction of the merchandise of two captured ships in 1630, 49% of the total of 300 bidders were non-Christians. They accounted for 48% of the total money raised. Vitula Naique spent 8,249.2 xerafins, more than all the Christian buyers put together and equal to that spent by the treasury itself (Matos 1998: 111-2).

Brahmans collected 91.7% of all taxes imposed on food, cloth, tobacco, opium, spices, paper, and a number of other products during the first decade of the seventeenth century. A tax collector had to provide sureties and be backed by a guarantor. Between 1600 and 1670, Brahmins held 50% of all contracts for tax collection, other gentios 30%, and Portuguese and local converts the balance 20% (Pearson 1981: 98). Narsu Naik collected the opium tax, Damu Sinay the tax on cloth, and the tax on tobacco was always collected by one of the same community (de Souza 2009: 83).

Petitions filed by influential gentios, even against priests, were investigated rigorously. In 1726, Narana Seti complained to the Inquisitor General about the excesses committed by Pe Domingos de Sao Bernardino of the Church in Penha de Franca, and the Inquisition's commissar in Bardes. A renter (3,031 xerafins annually) of the coconut plantation of Donna Anna de Azevedo administered by Pe Bernardino,

the dispute involved monetary transactions and the meirinho of the Aljube, the Archbishop's prison (BNR: mss1352116_015).



Non-Christians simultaneously dominated a flourishing parallel economy. A constant and steady source of capital came from the very substantial amounts pilfered from the State by corrupt officials (Winius 1985: 74). Government appointments offered tremendous scope for acquiring ill-gotten wealth. Viceroy Castro (1545-48) calculated that even second rung officials returned to Portugal with 100,000 cruzados while leaving behind countless debts for the king to clear (Winius 1985: 61). A return of 15-20% was powerful motive for corrupt officials to protect this privileged merchant class. In time, they acquired such control over the economy that government attempts to take over the administration of certain branches of revenue failed miserably (de Souza 2009: 84). Realising this, the king admitted the Portuguese could not live without the gentios, and decreed that "they be favoured so that they will be encouraged to serve me..." (Kamat 1999: 77-80).

Prominent gentios accepted the prohibitions placed on public practice of their religion as a condition for being allowed to remain and conduct a profitable business. In a petition to the king, they accepted that a Christian prince could make no concessions in allowing the public performance of their ceremonies as it would impede the propagation of Christianity, and that he should punish transgressors. Instead, they sought relief from fellow gentios who out of personal enmity and rivalry denounced them to the Inquisition (Priolkar 1961: 111-2). It was powerful motivation for a tacit understanding with the Inquisition.

In a way, the domineering hold on both the official and parallel economies by Goa's gentio elite could be compared to that of the Cristaos-Novos of earlier decades, with one or two crucial differences. Not being Christians, they could not be prosecuted for heresy, and could find sanctuary in neighbouring lands in case of problems. This ensured they came under the Inquisition's purview only in limited cases.

The ganvkars of Salcete and the Inquisition

The drawing of privileged classes into partnership with the Inquisition is apparent from two developments related to Salcete's ganvkars. Serial number 45, m0401, pack 18 of the 1774 Inventory relates to a case of stealing and burning churches against the ganvkars of Salcete, probably from Cuncolim, in 1573. They were absolved for lack of proof (*Figueira Reportorio*). In 1642, Salcete's ganvkars petitioned the king in desperation to involve the Inquisition in resolving the economic chaos created by various organisations in Salcete (Chapter 1). It had taken just a few decades for this change to take place.

Insights from Abbe Carre's journey through the Provincia do Norte

Abbe Carre travelled over land from Bombay to Surat in December 1673. Through his eyes, perhaps influenced by a Frenchman's tinted lens, we get a glimpse of the hard lives of underprivileged society in the Provincia do Norte.

Stuck at a river crossing, his Portuguese servants resorted to a "Portuguese privilege". They threatened a small boat passing by with a cargo of wood and forced the boatmen to change course and transport them across the river. The frightened boatman's pleas were of no avail. Not only had he missed the tide but feared he "would receive the usual payment bestowed on them by the Portuguese in like encounters, namely insults and blows with a stick". Abbe Carre

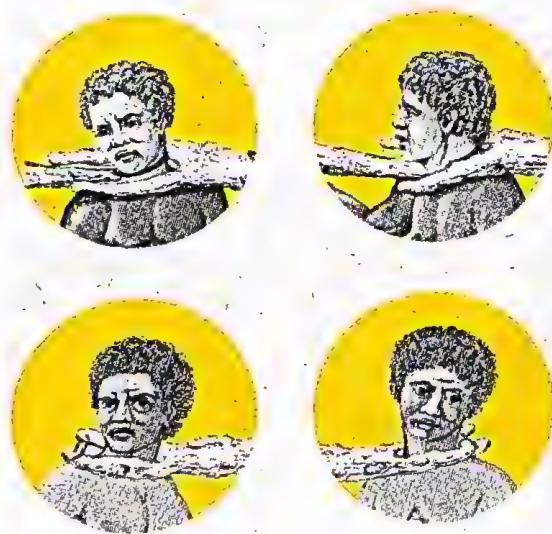
was berated by a Portuguese fidalgo fellow traveller for paying the boatman. He said the Abbe had insulted him by paying the boatman as, being in his company, "the boatman was well recompensed by the honour he had had in helping persons like himself" (Abbe Carre 1990b: 727-8).

The underprivileged

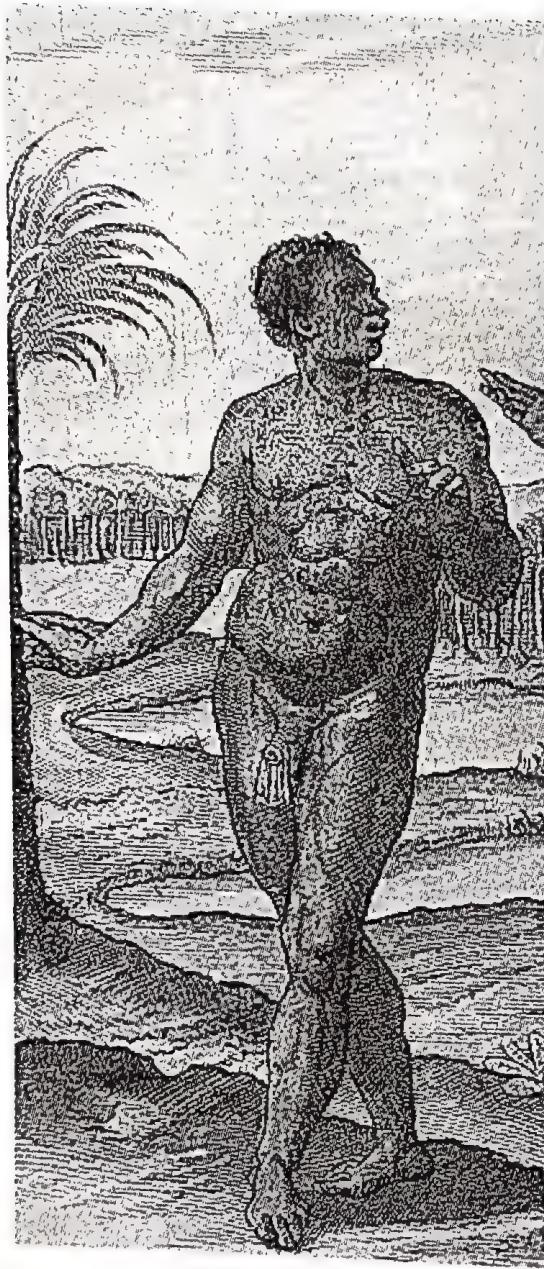
The subordinate condition of underprivileged classes was not unique to the Estado. In the neighbouring Mughal Empire, the governing class's expropriation of surplus production created great disparity between the two: "Virtually every relevant feature of the economy, society and the state was designed to hold the artisan firmly down to his lowly place in the scheme of things allowing very little scope for upward mobility or differentiation...The whip and the cudgel were freely used..." The lifestyle of the rich was characterised by conspicuous consumption and the services of a vast array of servants and slaves, each specializing in a particular function: "Servants cost very little... Slaves cost hardly anything..." (The Cambridge... 2008: 284, 304).

Relegated to a life of deprivation, these classes developed their own symbols and rites of empowerment. In Lisbon and Brazil, African slaves used talismans of African origin (*bolsa da mandigas*) as a means to ward off evil and protect oneself from harm. The Inquisition prosecuted their users for sorcery and black magic. Their use was also viewed as a symbol of defiance to colonial Portuguese power.

The variety of gentile rites prevailing in the Estado posed a similar threat to the mono-cultural society envisaged by Portugal. Underprivileged classes were particularly susceptible. The Inquisition's victims, an English traveller (1772) wrote, "were generally of the lowest extraction among the Gentoos, and so extremely weak and ignorant, as to be incapable of being well-grounded in any religion" (Grose 1772a: 166).



Slaves yoked to each other during transportation
(Adapted from Clarkson, Thomas. Letters
on the Slave-Trade... London, 1791.)



African slave
(Linschoten 1885)



Chapter Twenty Eight

Gabriel's Story

Gabriel was a sixteenth century Jew, a Falasha from the Ethiopian highlands. Enslaved by Abyssinian Christians when still a boy, he was sold to an Arab Muslim. Gabriel converted to Islam. In Arabia, he was sold to another Arab who took him to Chaul de Cima (Upper Chaul) and from there to Ahmadnagar. Chaul de Cima, the biggest port of the Ahmadnagar Sultanate, was situated three kilometres north of Portuguese Chaul.

Gabriel's story is one of enslavement at the intersecting frontiers of the Christian and Islamic worlds in Asia. In the 1560s, Ethiopia was wracked by a series of military campaigns between Ethiopia's Christian king and its Muslim neighbours. The resultant dislocation of people provided slave traders with a ready supply of captives for the flourishing slave markets of the Ottoman Empire. The Red Sea basin formed a central region of this trade. Captives from the Ethiopian highlands, East Africa, and the southern Sahara were brought here for the onward journey to Arabia or Egypt. In India, Ethiopian slaves were termed *habshi* (Arabic *habash*—Africans from the Horn of Africa). Gabriel was one of them.

On April 17, 1595, aged 40 years, Gabriel was accused of Islamism at the meza. Gabriel's case is preserved in the 37 sheets of file number ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-IL-28-4937. He is listed as 'Gabriel casta Abexim' (Gabriel of the Ethiopian caste) in the 1774 Inventory (pack 24, m0410), and in Figueira's report, case date April 22, 1595. Figueira lists 12 Abexims prosecuted in Goa during the first four decades.

Africans lived as Christians in the Estado and as Muslims across the border. Conversion offered them a measure of security and livelihood in a world of oppression, and eventually a chance of being manumitted.

The meagre details of Gabriel's story unfold in the trial records. He had been brought to India by a Muslim named Jame and sold to Mula Mamede. Gabriel served him in Ahmadnagar as a stable boy until about 1589, when he escaped to Portuguese Chaul with a Muslim woman Mixa Cobar. Here, they found refuge in the Dominican complex of Our Lady of Guadalupe, erected in 1549. They were baptised and given employment as domestics in the house of an Ethiopian Christian woman (Salvadore 2020).

Gabriel soon came under the disagreeable influence of a Muslim Ethiopian. Within two months, he returned to Ahmadnagar where he lived until 1595 under his Muslim name, Alihan. He prayed in mosques and observed Muslim rituals. For some unknown reason he tried to return to Portuguese Chaul. He was apprehended at the border and taken to the commissar.

March 11, 1595 – Chaul: Gabriel was interrogated through an interpreter and told to "discharge his conscience". Gabriel provided personal details and confirmed that he had been baptised in Chaul in 1589. He denied having reverted to Islam but admitted to having visited mosques out of necessity rather than conviction. He asked "for mercy for the sins he committed against God and promised to live and die in the law of Christ".

Uncertain of Gabriel's truthfulness, the commissar sent him to Goa to face trial. He arrived there on April 1 and was imprisoned in the Sabayo Palace.

April 17 – First session: Gabriel gave a brief account of his upbringing. He had been baptised in Chaul, and left for Ahmadnagar with the intention of relapsing into Islam. He confessed to being a Muslim in all respects and reverting to his Muslim name Haliande (Alihan). He then claimed he had come to his senses and realised his relapse had been due to being a weak and miserable sinner poorly instructed in the Faith, who had been deceived by the devil. He disowned Islam as devious, false, and wrong. For the salvation of his soul, he promised to be a very good and faithful Christian, and not commit such sins again.

Gabriel's confession appeared sincere.

April 18 – Sentence: Gabriel was judged a "heretic and apostate and an enemy of our holy Catholic faith" who should be handed over to secular justice. However, he was shown clemency for having returned of his own free will, repenting for his sins, asking for forgiveness and mercy, and promising never to sin again. He was sent to serve in the new Dominican monastery of Santo Tomas where he would be instructed in the Faith. He was warned that a relapse would invite rigorous punishment.

April 22 – Conclusion of the process: Gabriel abjured after mass in the Se Cathedral barefooted and uncapped in the penitential dress carrying a lighted candle in his hands before a number of persons including clergy, the meirinho, and prison guards.

August 15 – escape and arrest: Gabriel fled the monastery but was arrested on the City outskirts while travelling east. He was taken back to prison. Having demonstrated his insincerity by escaping, Gabriel had become a relapsed heretic, subject to relaxation to secular justice.

August 19 – Testimony of Joane, Joao Franco, and Domingos:

Joane, a Curumbim captive employed in the Dominican monastery, testified that Gabriel was unwilling to learn the Christian doctrine from his tutor, and continued to pray as a Muslim. Joao Franco, a Jao, corroborated Joane, adding that Gabriel had told him that he did not want to learn the Christian doctrine because he believed he was a Muslim and would return to the sultanate. A third witness, Domingos, confirmed this.

August 30 – first session: Gabriel was interrogated by Inquisitor Sodrinho with the help of an Ethiopian interpreter. He contradicted the testimony of the three witnesses and said he escaped because of ill-treatment in the monastery. He said he was looking out for shelter with an Ethiopian in the City when apprehended. The inquisitor did not accept this as he had been arrested east of the City, suggesting he was attempting to cross the border.

He was now a negativo. Urged to recant, he admitted he was trying to escape to the sultanate. He, however, did not admit to praying as a Muslim, which made his confession only partial (diminuto).

August 31 – ratification of testimonies: In view of the discrepancies in Gabriel's account, the witnesses were recalled to ratify their testimony. They swore on the gospels that their accounts were true.

September 5 – second session: Gabriel explained that when he heard the monastery bells ringing, he got down on his knees from force of habit, leaned forward with face towards the ground and hands crossed, and recited "ha la ha la Mahomet Rusulula" in honour of Muhammad.

September 9 – third session: Gabriel was asked to explain why he told the witnesses he was a Muslim, that he intended to flee to Muslim lands, and why he had prayed in the Muslim fashion. Gabriel confessed that after some time in the monastery, he began to believe

in Islam again. Gabriel was no longer a diminuto, but a confessed relapse who could be sentenced to death.

He then said he now disowned Islam and believed once again in the Catholic faith, and promised to remain a Christian until death. He said he had sinned in anger after being taunted by the boys in the monastery; something a simple man like him, without proper judgement and poorly instructed in the Faith, would do. He begged for mercy.

The inquisitors sought the opinion of the two interpreters, Antonio Jorge and Antonio da Cunha, on Gabriel's capacity to judge and understand such matters. Both affirmed that he was an uneducated man of poor judgement who did not know what he said.

October 26 – judgement: Archbishop Aleixo Menezes, Inquisitor Rui Sodrinho, Francisco Cabral, Marco da Graca, Antonio Arcediano, Hieronimo Britto, and Fr Gaspar de Santa Vincente referred Gabriel's case to Lisbon in view of his poor education in the Faith, great lack of sensibility and understanding, and acceptance into the Catholic fold. Until a response was received, Gabriel would serve in the City's galleys and be instructed in the Faith.

October 27 – enforcement of the sentence: Afonso Paes, registrar of the galleys, certified that Gabriel had been transferred to the custody of Captain Vincencio Bune, vedor do fazenda and provisioner of the galleys. Correspondence dated 1597 reveals a decision on Gabriel's case was still awaited (Marcocci 2012).

Reflections

Gabriel's story is that of a young boy, born into a vulnerable African Jewish minority community, enslaved by unscrupulous traders and owners to a life of thankless labour in lands far from his home, a slave with no rights. Throughout the 40 odd years that we know of his life, Gabriel survived in the interconnected African, Arab, and Indo-

Portuguese world of sixteenth century western India by converting to the regional dominant religion. He, like other African slaves, adjusted as best he could to the suffocating blanket of oppression faced at the local, regional, and global levels.

The question that arises is why did the Inquisition refer his case to Lisbon when by the rules of the *Regimento* a relapsed heretic should have been executed? Why did it show such concern for an African slave, treated by society as a commodity rather than a human being?

Perhaps an answer lies hidden somewhere in some archive.

A noz' qm' ope M. f. 3 Viz' da
Vara mandou fazer d. de
pimento que comiu a Gabriel
Iberêm em nome da Iraçá
e da Mowá del' Iame

Amo do nascimento desse sñor Iam ch.º
d'asil e quinze e 2 monenta e cinqu
anos aos onze dias do mes de Março do
dito anno nessa cidade de São Paulo na Iraçá mo
bres della ope qm' da vará Manoel f. 3
capelão de S. M. f. 3 fes pessas a Gabriel
Iberêm em nome da Iraçá, e da Mowá sede
Iame, oq' o nome em d'ilo de m'angaa
Indo buscar Iraçá sev'ra sen, e aewa addi
a Gabriel e p'rguntado ou dito Ga
briel se era Iraçá q'lo lingue Bastião de
Brito perante o dito q'lo virião disse
q' si, e p'rguntado onde oq'poravam disse
q'lo oq'poravam nessa adade, m'os q'z
de m'ra alent'ra em q'lo Iraçá oq'bag

Gabriel's case file

ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-IL-28-4937_m0003



A chela wearing the tiger uniform



Chapter Twenty Nine

The Inquisition and Tipu's chelas

Goa heaved a short-lived sigh of relief in 1761 when an Afghan army defeated the Marathas at Panipat. Two years later, Haidar Ali's seizure of Bednur and Kanara posed a potent threat from its south. Relations with this powerful neighbour fluctuated from tenuous cordiality to the threat of invasion in the following years. Uncertainty ended only in 1799 when Haidar's successor, Tipu, died defending his capital, Srirangapatna.

The background

Haidar's conquest of Bednur took him to Sunda's frontier. Sunda bordered Goa. Alarm bells rang in Goa as its panicky raja surrendered his territories to Goa in return for sanctuary. Fortunately for both, Haidar's attentions were drawn elsewhere and the crisis passed.

Haidar initiated a vigorous modernisation of his army along European lines with the help of European, including Portuguese, expertise. A shadow play of diplomatic manoeuvering ensued in which Goa secured trading concessions and rights for the thousands of Goan Catholic immigrants in Kanara in exchange for controlled deputations of skilled military personnel and military supplies. One of them was Peixoto, a Portuguese gunner who participated in Haidar's campaigns

and kept a journal of his adventure. Bishop Noronha became Haidar's close friend, accompanying him on military campaigns until he left due to a misunderstanding. Pe Joaquim Miranda, a missionary in Kanara, received Haidar's favours for ministering to his Catholic (French, topassi) mercenaries. He was expelled by Tipu in 1784 after having served in Kanara for 27 years.

In 1784, after signing a peace treaty with the East India Company, Tipu forcibly arrested his Christian subjects and took them to Srirangapatna. Their properties were confiscated, churches destroyed, and priests expelled. The arrests covered an estimated 60,000 throughout Tipu's domain, including about 30,000 to 35,000 from Kanara (Machado 2015: 292). Boys aged between 10 and 20 were converted to Islam and incorporated into Tipu's chela battalions, while others were given lands to cultivate. Tipu moved his troops to Goa's borders, causing great anxiety in government circles.

Seeking to restore relations with France, which had broken down during the siege of Mangalore in 1783, Tipu sent an embassy to Paris in 1787. He received a clear message that he should change his policy towards his Christian subjects. In July 1789, while planning to pacify Malabar, he sent a delegation to Goa. It met the archbishop and promised to rebuild the destroyed churches. Some Goan priests returned to Kanara, but there was no revival of Christianity.

The chelas suffered massive casualties over the years in various campaigns. Tipu's Malabar campaign gave some chelas an opportunity to escape to the British enclave of Tellicherry. On February 6, 1792, the English army broke through Srirangapatna's defences. About 700 chela families escaped to Kodagu. They were settled by the Kodagu Raja in Virajpet where they were given land or shops. A Goan priest, Pe Joao da Costa, joined them. He built the Church of Santa Anna.

The faces (Moreira 1863a: 559, 560, 562, 567, 578, 592, 594, 607, 614)

The auto-da-fe records list names of chelas who escaped from Tipu's captivity, returned to Goa, and presented themselves voluntarily at the meza. Their offences are described in more or less similar words, that they had been involuntary Muslims who had been forcibly converted to Islam by beatings, violence, and fear of mistreatment on Tipu's orders. As Muslims, they had listened to the instructions of the Muslim sect, frequented mosques, prostrated and prayed in the Muslim fashion, and participated in their festivals. Some had married according to

Details of persons who converted to Islam in Srirangapatna

1792 Sep 26	Paulo Coelho	30	labourer, bachelor, Assolna
1792 Nov	Jose Menezes, sr	32	married, labourer
1792 Nov	Francisco da Silva	30	merchant from above the ghats
1792 Dec 22	Thome Correa	40	widower, labourer, Honavar
1792 Dec 22	Antonio Rodrigues	21	bachelor, Anjediva
1792 Dec 22	Francisco Vaz	32	married, labourer, gentio ceremonies
1793 Mar 1	Joao de Sousa	26	Omzur
1794 Jan	Xavier Vas	40	Varca
1794 Aug	Domingos Godinho	40	new convert, native of Srirangapatna
1796 Jan 27	Joaquim de Faria	28	Guirim
1799 Apr 5	Salvador Bras	35	Vellim
1799 Apr	Domingos de Sousa	30	Kalianpur
1799 Apr	Pedro Sequeira	45	widower, labourer, Mulki, died before sentencing
1800 Oct 8	Salvador Lobo	27	Mangalore

Muslim rites. All abjured de leve, were absolved of excommunication, given spiritual penances, and instructed in the Faith.

About half the cases relate to late 1792, when Tipu was at war against a British-Maratha-Nizam alliance. A number of chelas, together with their families, escaped from Srirangapatna and Malabar during this conflict.

Domingos Godinho's pre-Christian name, Chamon Angrio, reveals he was a Maratha. He may have converted in Goa in order to join the Second Company of the Legion of Ponda. Convicted of gentilidade and invoking gentile deities and idols, he was sent to a convent for six months of seclusion and spiritual instruction.

On February 1, 1803, Rita (30, Mangalorean living in Margao) appeared voluntarily at the meza for embracing Islam when Mangalore came under Muslim rule. She was sentenced to undergo spiritual instruction.

Pe Juse Mingel Luis Mendes, appointed vicar in 1795 of Mangalore's two leading churches, Rosario and Milagres, had been imprisoned in Jamalabad by Tipu. In 1801, he bypassed Ravenshaw, the Collector, to submit a petition seeking relief for the Christians directly to Calcutta through Francis Buchanan, commissioned by Wellesley to study the new territories. Making a rather unflattering reference to him, Buchanan wrote: "He speaks Latin neither correctly nor with fluency, and seems very desirous of obtaining what he calls a domineering power over the sect --- not only by the spiritual means of excommunication, but also by the temporal expedients of fine and corporal punishment" (Buchanan 1807: 24).

Here, we are concerned with his brother Pe Joaquim Manoel Luis Mendes, native of Panelim, and vicar of Omzur from 1801 to 1804. On his return to Goa, he confessed voluntarily to the sin of solicitation

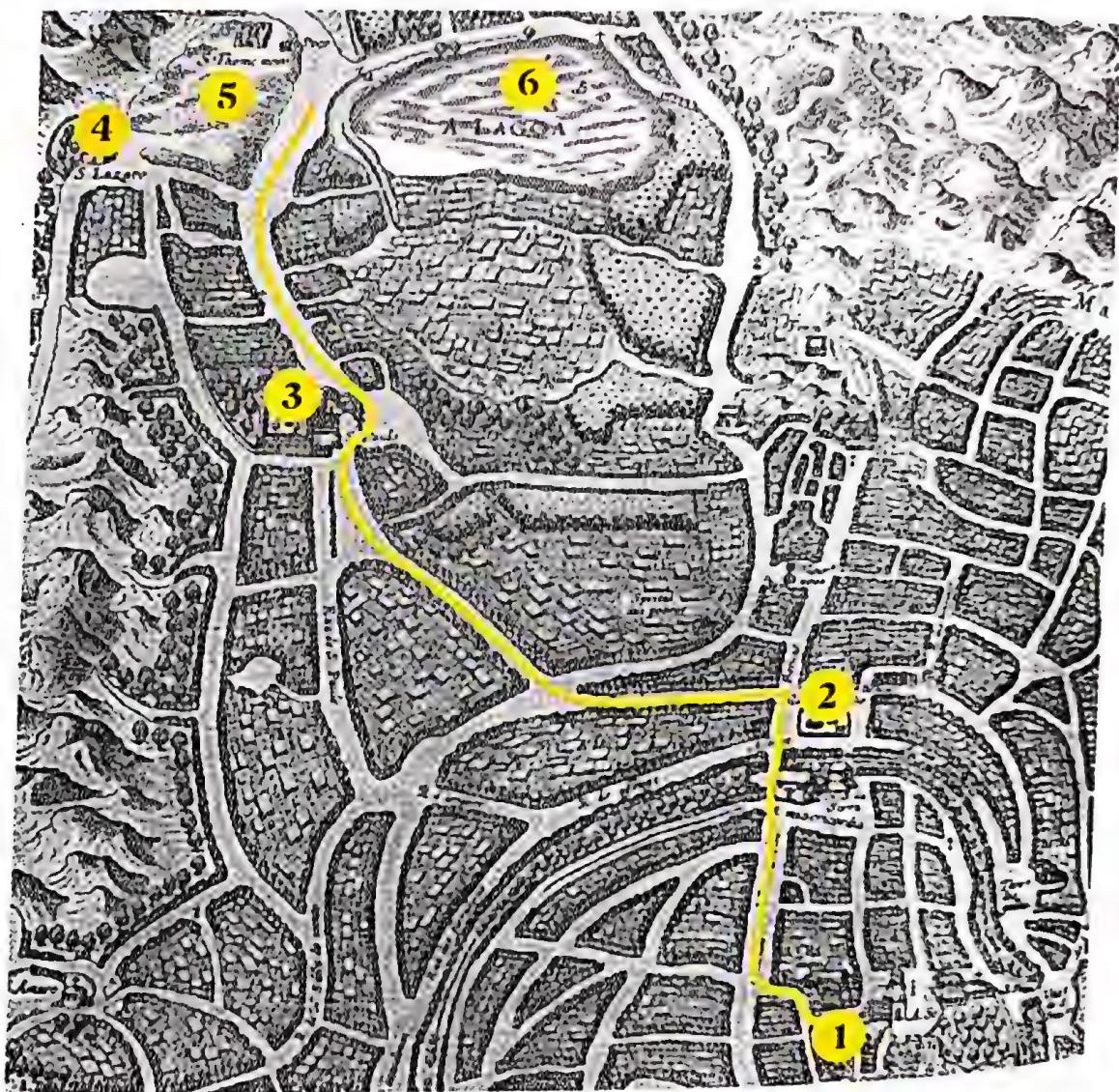
while in Kanara. He abjured de leve on November 20, 1804, and was sent into seclusion to ponder on the gravity of his crimes.

Pe Joaquim Mendes was the vicar of Omzur when my ancestor, Joao, the only known survivor of Tipu's Captivity, returned to his home village. As vicar he maintained the parish register. It records the birth of Isabella on July 19, 1801 to Joao Macedo and Rosa Braga. That entry is the earliest reference to the Macedo (Prabhu) family in Kanara.



Tipu's flag flying over the north gate of Fort Bangalore where many chelas were garrisoned

(Painting by James Hunter, 1792)



Likely route from the Terreiro do Sabayo (1) to the Campo Sao Lazaro (5) located adjacent to a lake (6) passing via the pillory (2), Convent of Sao Paolo (3), and Hospital of Sao Lazaro (4)

(Adapted from Linschoten's map of 1595)

Chapter Thirty

The Burnings

Goa's Inquisition condemned at least 177 known persons (mainly men) to be physically burned. The Black Legend portrays this as a signature of inquisitorial sadism. However, contrasting these statistics with that of the numberless persons burnt for witchcraft in Europe and women as satis in India brings a sobering sense of balance to the matter.

Witch hysteria gripped Protestant Europe and Britain in a particularly vicious vice during the time the Inquisition operated in Goa. Witch-hunters hauled widows, married women, and young girls from towns and the countryside for trial, charging them with causing unseasonal weather and failed harvests, illness and disease, and a host of other calamities.

In India, sati, the burning of widows on her dead husband's funeral pyre, was an accepted and common practice. Widows had little choice. Those who refused to become satis were shaved and despised, not allowed to wear jewels, and looked upon as dishonest (Linschoten 1885: 249). Sati was widespread. A report commissioned by Rev William Carrey recorded 115 satis within 50 km around Calcutta between April 15 and October 15, 1804 (Buchanan 1811: 41-2). The similar number for

1803 was 275. Albuquerque prohibited sati in Goa (Paramarthalingam 1979: 890-894).

Individual cases and statistics add life and substance to these tragedies.

England (The New Newgate Calendar...: 347-64)

On a Monday of May 1726, three carts rolled out of London's Newgate Prison headed for Tyburn Tree. Three sodomites were in the first, three highwaymen in the second, and two thieves and a murderer in the third. They were followed by a horse dragging Catharine Hayes, sentenced to be burnt alive for the murder of her husband, on a hurdle.

The route from Newgate to Tyburn passes through a busy commercial area today. It takes about an hour to cover the distance on foot, certainly more when crowds lined the road to jeer the condemned to their place of execution. It must have been an excruciating journey for Catharine: forced to gaze skyward, wincing as the hurdle bumped along the unpaved road, and listening to the profanities of a fired-up mob baying for blood.

Catharine had been convicted for the crime of petty treason. English law treated crimes against the king and his family as high treason, and the murder of a husband as petty treason. Convicted women were burnt.

At Tyburn, Catharine waited and watched as the others were strung up, gasping and struggling for air, their legs involuntarily twitching to the movements of the Tyburn jig until the executioner chained her to the stake. He placed a rope around her neck to strangle her before the flames rose. The fire, however, flared up too fast and scorched his hands. He let go of the rope. Catharine shrieked as the fire torched her. Some reports say it took an hour to reduce her to ashes, others three.

Bombay

On February 1, 1726, two women were sentenced by the Bombay court under English law. Joana, a Christian, for having returned to the island after being expelled with her husband "without any crime of hers specified save conniving at her husband's practices" received 15 lashes and the order to return no more. If violated, her ears would be cut off, the punishment reserved for "women of ill-fame". The second, Gungay, indicted for petty treason in aiding and abetting the murder of her husband, was burnt (Forrest 1887: xxxix-xl).

Goa (Dillon 97-117)

Sometime during the night, the bolts to the doors of 50-year old Frarra de Azevedo's cell were drawn back. A guard appeared with a black-and-white-striped dress for her to wear. She sat in silence, dazed, uncomprehending, until around two o'clock in the morning when the guard reappeared and conducted her through a long gallery, its walls lined by others similarly dressed. A flickering flame lit the faces of prisoners standing in stiff silence with only darting eye balls betraying the palpable fear rising within.

She was led to a room in which another, a man similarly dressed, waited. The jailor brought a samara for her to wear over her dress. With a shock she realised the painted face at the centre of hideous, prancing demons and flickering flames was hers. A carocha painted with the word *feiticero* completed her costume.

The great cathedral bell tolled a little before sunrise. The prisoners were led out in procession to the auto-da-fe of January 12, 1676, each in the custody of a familiare. Being at the very end she could not see the 120 persons - Dillon among them - ahead of her, or the lofted banner of the Inquisition that led it. Sharp stones cut into her bare feet during the hour or so that it took to walk the principal streets to

the Church of Saint Francis. After so many months in the silence of solitary confinement, the great assembly of onlookers intimidated and overwhelmed her. She walked behind a large crucifix held high. Christ faced the other way. She had been abandoned.

She sat with a blank mind through the long gruelling ordeal before she was finally brought forward. Having relapsed into the crime of sorcery, she was declared beyond the mercy of the Inquisition and relaxed to the officials of civil justice. A slight tap on her breast signified that abandonment. She was seized by her executioners.

Her last journey led her to the stake and faggots prepared at the Campo Sao Lazaro. How had it happened? All she had done was continue in the tradition of her mother and grandmother before her; all she had done was attempt to cure a disease in the manner her forebears had done. Which spiteful neighbour had denounced her? She would never know.

Statistics

	<i>Em carne</i>	<i>Em statua</i>	Total persons	% physically burnt
1561-1623	86	44	3,441	2.50
1640-1773	91	110	8,190	1.11
Total	177	154	11,631	1.52

These statistics relate to 43 autos held between 1561 and 1623, and 93 between 1640 and 1773. Details for at least another 49 are not known. During the earlier period, 68% were burnt for offences related to Judaism, 10% for Lutherism, 8% for sodomy, 7% for Islamism, 3% for heresy, and 3% for gentilidade (da Silva 2018).

Relapses spared relaxation

1674: Agostinho Monteiro (1656, Sirula), Antonio de Sousa (1657, Sirula), Anna de Sousa (1654, Assagao), Maria Figueiredo (1660, Panjim)

1730: Lourenco (1728, Sudro) and wife Maria

1732: Luis de Mello (1722, Bacaim, Brahman, convert). He was additionally whipped, made to compensate his victims, and sent to the galleys for teaching false doctrine and extorting money in the name of the Inquisition.

1734: Ignacio (1733, Curumbim, Sancoale), Manoel Fernandes (1729, cobbler, Tana), Jose Pereira (1733, Sudro, Quellosim), Mathais Pereira (1733), Manoel Rodrigues (1733, Sudro, Ilhas), Lucas (1732, Curumbim, Salcete), Paulina (1732, Curumbim, Sancoale). Paulina (17), daughter-in-law of Diogo Moura (60, Curumbim, Sancoale, dogmatist), was one of 40 persons from Sancoale (total 136). Totally, eight members of the Moura family were punished.

The majority of those burned were Europeans, mainly Portuguese Cristaos-Novos. The reduction in the percentages burned just as gentilidade cases began to rise is a clear indication that converts were treated with a greater measure of leniency than Europeans.

The passing of the sentence

“Invoking the name of Christ Jesus, (we) declare convicted for the crime of heresy and apostasy for which he is condemned to the sentence of excommunication major, and confiscation of his property to the tax authorities and royal chamber, and as per most punishments given for similar offences, relaxed to secular justice with the benign and pious plea that they carry out the sentence of death

without the effusion of blood." These, or similar words, pronounced the solemn sentence of death on a condemned, labelled by a volley of damningly descriptive words that precluded all hope of reconciliation: *convicto* (convicted), *confitente* (confessed), *relapso* (relapsed), *negativo* (in denial), *diminuto* (partially confessed), *affirmative dogmatista* (affirmed dogmatist), *falso* (false), *ficto* (deluded), *simulado* (simulated), *impenitente* (impenitent), *revogante* (revoking), *obstinado* (obstinate), *pertinaz* (pertinacious).

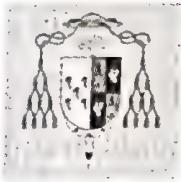
England again

As Portugal was wrestling with establishing the Inquisition in Goa, England was convulsed by the struggle between Catholics and Protestants for supremacy. The period was marked by a heightened number of executions during the reign of two queens, the half-sisters Mary and Elizabeth. Mary's persecutions were focused on Protestant heretics, Elizabeth's on Catholic traitors.

Mary introduced legislation in 1553 to reverse the Protestant legacy she had inherited. In 1555, Parliament enacted the Act for Burning of Heretics. Protestants were given three options: recant and become Catholics; leave England; face prosecution. Henry VIII's 37-year reign had seen the execution of 90 heretics; Mary's three short years, nearly 300 Protestants (Mitchell 2005: 47).

Elizabeth reversed Mary's policy. Catholic paranoia engulfed England in 1570 when the pope excommunicated her. In December 1581, Edmund Campion, a Jesuit, and 12 other Catholics were executed as traitors. Anti-Catholic hysteria peaked in 1588 when England survived an attempted invasion by Catholic Spain. Approximately 125 Catholic priests and 60 lay Catholics were executed as traitors during Elizabeth's reign (Mitchell 2005: 108).

English history remembers Mary as "Bloody Mary", Elizabeth as "Good Queen Bess."



Chapter Thirty One

The Archbishop of Evora's Sermon and Dellow again

In his sermon at Lisbon's cathedral in 1897, the Archbishop of Evora is reported to have said "If everywhere the Inquisition was an infamous court, the infamy, however vile, however corrupt and determined by worldly interests, it was never more so than the Inquisition of Goa, by irony of fate called the Holy Office. The Inquisitors even attained the infamy of sending to their prisons women who resisted them, there satisfying their beastly instincts and then burning them as heretics" (Pandya 2012. Quoting Cunha, T B: *Goa's Freedom Struggle*. 1961. Bombay).

Cunha's statement should be viewed against the heightened rhetoric that dominated the final days of Portuguese rule in Goa. Imprisoned for his role in the freedom struggle, he died shortly before Indian troops marched into Goa in 1961. An example of this rhetoric comes from a meeting of The National Congress Goa (Bombay, November 1957): "The terror unleashed by the Portuguese...continues unabated, and inhuman treatment of prisoners had taken a serious toll of life and permanently maimed many...terror stalks the country side making social life impossible and the honour of our womanhood exposed to

degradation. The process of dehumanisation is calculated to stamp out all resistance...The savage sentences...have exposed the Portuguese as bereft of all human considerations and values. The treatment in jail has been vindictive and cruel, and many a prisoner has succumbed to fiendish violence, or been driven to a state of mental instability or permanently maimed...Their confinement is a challenge to the conscience of the world...The Conference, therefore, appeals to the people and the Government of India to rush to the succour of these prisoners and save humanity from being sacrificed in Goa" (*Government of Maharashtra 2007: 56-57*).

Such was the portrayal of the final days of Portuguese rule by the Goan resistance movement. By revisiting the Archbishop's reported statement, Cunha furthered that narrative by linking it to the Anglo-centric version of the Black Legend.

The king and his bishops (Paiva 2017)

The alliance between the king and Church in Portugal was fundamental to the structure and consolidation of empire. Through their dominance in the religious realm, bishops wielded enormous power which percolated down to the secular level. Bishops enforced discipline and obedience among the people, and the local parish network provided very effective communication throughout the empire. Acutely aware of this, the king appointed not only bishops but also clergymen, making them his dependents, and in effect, his political agents. In return, such appointments extended their power and prestige into the political realm as well.

The selection of bishops involved consultations within the king's inner circle, and with several people and institutions. The candidate's merit, family background and connections, past family services to the king, and usefulness to his political policies were all considered.

The king and his inquisitors (Anderson 2011)

As with his bishops, the king appointed inquisitors making them vulnerable to political influence. Analyses of economic and sentencing data reveal political considerations heavily influenced the Inquisition's decisions. The Inquisition's role in eliminating Protestant and Catholic heretics not only strengthened Catholicism's spiritual monopoly but also conferred it with greater power. Consolidation of such control over society, rather than preserving the purity of the Faith, became one of its prime motivating factors.

The hidden battle between Ecclesiastical and Inquisitional authority (da Silva 2016)

Political and religious leaders have always used rituals, symbols, and precedence in public ceremonies to assert their authority. Inquisitors did this by staging spectacular public autos-da-fe in which seating places allotted to individuals and groups had symbolic significance. Inquisitors appropriated the limelight by occupying the central and upper seats. To bishops, autos-da-fe presented further opportunities for promoting their image, status, and authority. Seating arrangements in these ceremonies often created tension between inquisitors, archbishops, and the viceroy.

Bishops and inquisitors invariably belonged to prominent families. The organisations they headed competed for limited resources. Symbolic power struggles between institutions and families linked to them were a common feature of such rivalry. Was the Archbishop of Evora's sermon a salvo directed at a rival, aimed at undermining his prestige by linking him to the Black Legend?

Comparative Statistics (Anderson 2012)

Statistics of Portuguese (40,000 processes) and Goan (18,986) autos-da-fe raise serious questions of legitimacy on the source of the

Archbishop's information. They show Goa's Inquisition was far more lenient. An analysis of 8,464 punishments meted out by the Lisbon and Evora tribunals (17,200 processes) from 1636 to 1778 reveals that 484 persons, 6% of the total, were executed. It works out to an average of 3.4 per year. Goa's Inquisition executed 177 persons over 213 years for which details are available. In Portugal, Cristaos-Novos comprised an estimated 95% of those burnt. In Goa, with their effective elimination by the end of the sixteenth century, the death rate fell drastically. The average of 1.4 for the period 1560-1623, halved to 0.7 during 1640-1773.

Even more questionable is his assertion that inquisitors imprisoned and raped women who resisted them, and then burnt them.

The auto-da-fe lists preserve the names of 17 women who were burnt in Goa. It requires an elastic imagination to accept that these poor widows, sad women of the underprivileged castes, could tickle an inquisitor's fancies. Here are their names and details:

- Magdalena Pacheco (1669, 35 years, Sudra); heresy, apostasy
- Ignes Fernandes (1669, 60, Sudra, widow); heresy, apostasy
- Luiza (1673); relapse March 26, 1662
- Maria (1697, 25, Curumbim, widow); gentilidade
- Magdalena (1727, 40, Bandarim, widow); relapse 1725, dogmatic heretic
- Martha (1732, 70); relapse 1726, heresy, apostasy
- Helena (1733, 50, Curumbim); relapse 1726, heresy, apostasy
- Esperanca (1733, 50, Curumbim, widow); relapse 1732, heresy, apostasy
- Angela Rodrigues (1742, 38, Sudra); heresy
- Isabel Attaide (1742, 40, Sudra); heresy
- Mariana Coelho (1745, 36, Sudra); heresy
- Esperanca Fernandes (1755, 40, Sudra); heresy, apostasy

- Magdalena da Costa (1764, 52); heresy, apostasy
- Esperanca (1766, 40, Curumbim, widow); heresy, apostasy
- Joana Lobo (1769, 50, widow); relapse 1764, heresy, apostasy
- Luiza Duarte (1771, 55); heresy, apostasy
- Teresa (1773, 60, Curumbim, widow); relapse 1750, heresy, apostasy



There are questions one would like to ask the archbishop about his sources and motives. A copy of the complete sermon and the context in which it was preached should provide insights, especially in light of what Dellow wrote: "It is not without some apparent reason that the Publick is prepossessed in favour of this Tribunal...there is no Judicature in the World wherein Justice is exercised with greater Sweetness and Charity" (Dellow 1688: 21). He further attests that none was put to death "except those who are manifestly Convicted". His own explanation for the Inquisition's motives in executing convicts is that by doing so it acquired confiscated property. In reality, confiscated property was expropriated by the State treasury. The greatest number of those executed in the *Estado* came from underprivileged classes from the *Provincia do Norte*. Their property could hardly have enriched the Inquisition or rather the State.

Where does the truth lie?



1640 edition of Pe Thomas Steven's
Arte da Lingoa Canarim

Chapter Thirty Two

The 1684 Ban on Konkani

On July 27, 1684, Viceroy Tavora issued an alvara which has been interpreted as an order suppressing the use of Konkani in all transactions. It was issued shortly after Sambaji's invasion, and against the backdrop of the ongoing tussle for pre-eminence between secular clergy and religious orders. In reality, the alvara neither mentions Konkani by name, nor is its suppression the central issue (Thomaz 2016; Mendonca 2005).

The major issue addressed by the edict was the custom of Christian widows following the pre-Christian tradition of not marrying. It states this was contrary to the interests of the State as it hindered the growth of a loyal population. It condemned family members who prevented widows from marrying, saying such behaviour was an offence against God which invited divine retribution. It advocated the marriage of widows to Portuguese men as a solution, and in order to facilitate free communication, the exclusive use of Portuguese in all transactions. All subjects were directed to learn Portuguese within three years, by which time local languages should stop being used in agreements and contracts. A violation would attract penalties.

The alvara further stated that the exclusive use of Portuguese “will be more convenient for the parish priests who have to teach and instruct them in the mysteries of the Faith. It happens that they are not able to explain themselves properly...either because the parish priest has no expertise in the local language (or) the parishioners do not know the Portuguese language...to facilitate this communication among all, the natives will apply to learn the Portuguese language, and the parish priests and the primary school teachers will teach the children the Christian doctrine in the same language” (Fernandes 2019). This directive introduced another consideration into the equation: the ongoing rivalry between secular and religious orders.

Konkani and the Church in Goa

Konkani, being the medium of catechization, preaching, prayers, and other devotions, had played a critical role in promoting Christianity in Goa. In the process, a large body of Konkani religious literature had been created. In 1541, an agreement with the ganvkars of Tiswadi allowing former temple revenues to be used by the Church specified that native clergymen were preferred as chaplains as it would facilitate communication between people and clergy.

The first Provincial Councils of Goa (1567, 1575, 1585) insisted that Konkani be used in catechism, sermons, and confessions, and recommended the ordination of native priests from “honourable and clean” castes who would be respected by native Christians. The fourth Council (1592) further decreed that in parishes with a majority of local Christians, only native priests should be appointed vicars. The fifth (1606) gave six months to every parish priest, either secular or religious, to learn the local language under pain of suspension.

The king acted on these decisions. He instructed the viceroy (1645, 1656) to appoint priests fluent in native languages in the administration of churches (BNR: mss1352113_174, mss1352113_192-3). These measures

enhanced the supremacy of the native clergy who came under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical authority headed by the Archbishop of Goa.

In contrast, most religious orders had their own hierarchy and reported directly to their superiors usually stationed in Rome. In 1563, the Council of Trent forbade religious orders from becoming parish priests. This, however, was not observed in Goa where religious orders were primarily responsible for conversions: the Franciscans in Bardes, the Jesuits in Salcete, and both (together with the Dominicans) in Tiswadi.

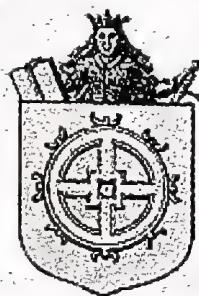
Religious orders had grown rich and influential in seventeenth century Goa. Their control of parishes gave them a strong influence on parishioners and a steady income. Believing a person born in the tropics was less capable of performing the tough task of a missionary priest, they resisted locals entering their ranks. This prejudice created a racial divide between religious and secular clergy. Religious orders remained almost entirely European, secular clergy mostly local. The situation began to change only in the next century when some local orders were created, and the old ones gradually opened their ranks to Indians.

In 1677, Archbishop Brando (1675-78), in accordance with the decrees of Trent, forbade religious orders from appointing parish priests and entrusted all parishes to native secular priests. Religious orders, chiefly Franciscans, vigorously resisted the order. Four years later, his successor Dom Meneses (1681-84) restored these parishes to religious orders. He died in January 1684 leaving the administration of the diocese in Franciscan hands. The alvara of 1684 is often seen as a victory for the Franciscans and a defeat for native clergy.

Secular orders counter-attacked forcefully. The new archbishop promptly forbade the teaching of Portuguese in parish schools, and even banned its use by Brahmins and others. The Franciscans used

their influence in Lisbon to obtain, in 1687 and again in 1732, the confirmation of the alvara of 1684. The viceroy diplomatically skirted the issue by declaring there was no contradiction between the alvara, now confirmed by the king, and the pastoral of the archbishop, since the former applied to persons who could send their children to school, and the latter to poor people who could not.

The Inquisition was not involved in this tussle. Its only concern was that Konkani provided Christians with a link to non-Christian religious influences which led them astray. In 1731, the inquisitor complained to the king that the primary cause of the Estado's troubles arose from the non-implementation of earlier laws prohibiting the use of Konkani and the obligatory use of Portuguese (Priolkar 1961: 177). Ironically, at this time, the Inquisition's focus was predominantly in the North where Konkani was not spoken.





Chapter Thirty Three

Emigration and the Inquisition

A 1801 British census of Kanara casts revealing light on the emigration of Konkani-speakers from Goa. The district was the main destination of migrants, Christian and others, during Portuguese rule in Goa. It had a population of 18,615 Konkani-speaking non-Christians (13,074 bankers, shopkeepers, traders; 5,541 cultivators, gardeners, messengers, servants, others) (Buchanan 1807: 5-8). The Christian population (cultivators, merchants) was 10,877 in South Kanara and 2,023 (calculated from 476 households at 4.25 per household) in North Kanara. This census had been taken after Kanara had lost more than half its Christian population during the 15-year Captivity (1784-99), and before the return of others from Malabar and Kodagu. A fair estimate of the pre-Captivity Konkani-speaking Christian population of Goan descent would be 50,000 (Machado 2015: 290-2).

Emigration of Brahmans

Brahman migration is not unfamiliar in the demographic history of India. Here are two such stories:

Kashmir (Keni 2008: 29-35): Famine and anti-Brahman policies caused an exodus from Kashmir. During the famine of 917-8 CE which caused the Beas River to be "entirely covered with swollen corpses,"

King Anantivarman exacerbated his subjects's woes by raising provision prices exorbitantly. A similar situation occurred between 1099 and 1100. Governor Ananda slaughtered Brahmins and imposed heavy taxes on them. Sussala's (1121-28) nightmarish anti-Brahman policies compelled them to emigrate from Kashmir.

Kerala (Keni 2008: 275; Kudva 1972: 123,137): Konkani merchants in Calicut acted as commercial agents for the Portuguese from 1498. They extended their network to Cochin when the Portuguese built a fort there in 1503. The settlement attracted Goan Brahmins including 360 families in 1654. One individual, Devaraya Kamati, needed 200 porters to carry his gold. Konkani Brahmins were discriminated against by local Namboodiri Brahmins. In September 1791, on Deepavali, the Cochin Raja's soldiers massacred prominent Konkani merchants and looted their shops and houses. The temple was raided, its priests arrested, and jewels and other valuables worth several lakhs seized. Konkanies fled to the safety of the Dutch fort, and the temple idol was moved to Alleppey.

In the 1560s, a number of influential Brahmins who chose to resist coercive conversion laws were expelled from Goa. They were given short notice to dispose of their property and leave. The 1801 census reveals that the exiles were accompanied by lesser privileged Konkani speakers. An assumed population growth rate of 1% per annum gives us a figure of 1,685 (if all the emigration had occurred in the 1560s when leading Brahmins were expelled by the viceroy). In reality, emigrations were spread across a number of years.

A series of treaties signed between Goa and the Ikerri kingdom that ruled Kanara provide revealing clues to Kanara's growing Christian population. The first treaties (1631/1633) refer to only commercial issues. The 1671 treaty allowed Goa to re-establish its factory at Mangalore but there are no concessions for Christians, suggesting their numbers

Timeline of Goan Christian emigration to Kanara
(Machado 2015)

1570-79	Goa-Bijapur wars; emigration mainly from Salcete
1574	nuclear settlements with no resident priests
1600	1,000: in and around the forts at Mangalore (1568), Honavar (1569), Kundapur (1570)
1635	Bocarro, Trinidade: very small Christian community in Kanara
1652-54	Goa-Ikerri wars: Goan soldiers and artisans join Shivappa Nayaka's army after loss of Kanara forts.
1658	6,000: contemporary evidence from Pe Sebastiani
1664-84	Maratha invasions: Christian-dominated ganvkaris face severe economic disruption; migrations intensify
1681	Contemporary evidence from Pe Jose Vaz: settlements at Mangalore, Kundapur, Honavar
1684	Sambaji captures Jua and is poised to take the capital
1697	21 churches: Honavar (3), Kundapur (5), Mulki (4), Mangalore (9)
1720-42	intensified Maratha pressure; Baji Rao (Provincia do Norte, Salcete), Bhonsle (Bardes)
1722	parish census: Goa- 181,565, Kanara- 24,600
1739-40	collapse of Provincia do Norte; new wave of emigrants
1784	Christian population of Goa extract assuming a natural growth rate of 1% per annum: Kanara 40,000, Mysore 10,000 (recruited by Haidar from Mangalore c. 1769); 20% of combined Goa-Kanara population

were still insignificant. It is only in the 1678 treaty between Goa and Rani Chennamma that a number of clauses favouring Christians appear. Their increase in the 1707 and 1714 treaties confirm a growing population.

Many prominent Mangalorean families were part of this exodus, largely from Bardes. Their family histories contain some details of their Goan ancestry but only conjecture about the cause of migration. So the question arises: what role did the Inquisition play in it?

Clues from the auto-da-fe lists

Migrations to Kanara peaked between 1684 and 1742, during the period of intensifying conflict with Maratha powers. This was precisely the time during which the Inquisition focused almost entirely on the Provncia do Norte (71% of cases). A three-period regional analysis of case numbers is revealing when placed against the migratory timeline.

1635: Antonio Bocarro, Goa's official historiographer from 1631 to 1643, published a book in 1635 on the Estado's forts and cities. He writes conversions were rare or none at all in Kanara, and churches non-existent. Mangalore had a small settlement of 35 Portuguese households adjoining the fort. The absence of churches is confirmation that significant migration from Goa was yet to commence.

	1561-1623	%
Goa	2,911	85
North	422	12
Others	111	3
Total	3,444	

Table 1 Source: *Reportorio*

1667: Viceroy to king: "My Lord...the gentios do not have properties and the canarins (neo-converts) get from the lands only as much as they need for their maintenance. No one can extract honey or oil out of stones." (Pereira 1981: 79).

		1650-1676	%
Goa	848	74	
Bardes	465	55	
Ilhas	243	29	
Salcete	140	16	
North	180	16	
Others	123	10	
Total	1,151		

Table 2 Source: auto-da-fe lists

Goa contributed 74% of cases during this period when the Dutch had severely disrupted the Estado's overseas trade network, and its economy had slid into a major downturn. The construction of the Tivim-Colvale fortifications added to the economic stress, especially on the ganvkaris. Meanwhile, Kanara's increasing Christian population reveals migrations were increasing.

1689: Viceroy to king: "When our enemy Sambaji invaded Bardes, the natives abandoned the defence of Tivim and went away. Some of them---settled in the country of the queen of Kanara..." (de Sousa 2009: 203).

		1685-1736	%
Goa	910	26	
Bardes	476	52	
Ilhas	362	40	
Salcete	72	8	
North	2,513	71	
Others	121	3	
Total	3,544		

Table 3 Source: auto-da-fe lists

This period saw accelerated migration especially from Bardes, and the erection of a number of churches in Kanara, clear evidence of a growing Christian population of Goan origin. The Goa-Ikerri treaties confirm this (Machado 2015: 379). This is precisely the period when case numbers in Goa had fallen to 26%, and the Inquisition's concentration was on the Provincia do Norte (71%).

1747: Goan government report: "many Christians about 5,000 fled to the missions (Kanara) from Bardes, Salcete, and Tiswadi and afterwards lived there due to the invasion of the Marathas" (Silva 1958: 75).

Nowhere is the Inquisition mentioned as the cause of migration to Kanara.

Causes of Christian/ gentio migration

The first significant migrations began from the second half of the seventeenth century when the Estado suffered considerable territorial loss, and a steep decline in its economy. From the late seventeenth century, repeated Maratha invasions exacerbated economic decline.

Agricultural production fell and Goa was forced to import rice from Kanara to avoid famine. Sambaji's invasion precipitated migration.

The government continued taxing the ganvkaris while acknowledging their difficulties. For instance, in 1710 it ordered the dividends of emigrants to Kanara be used to repay government debts (Xavier 1903:123).

Clearly large numbers had already emigrated. Auto-da-fe statistics reveal that until naiques took over some of its responsibilities in Goa and the Inquisition's focus shifted to the North, it was active in vulnerable border villages like Tivim and Aldona.

As laws deprived gentios of controlling interest in ganvkaris, they turned their formidable skills to diplomatic and administrative roles, and commercial, trading, and financial markets. They soon acquired a commanding hold of the economy. In 1704, the central government wrote to the local government that the expulsion of the Gentiles, who were in sole control of all commerce, would destroy the economy and consequently the State (Xavier 1903: 123). Those who did leave acquired significant stakes in the coastal trade network of Kanara and Kerala port towns.

Exactly the opposite situation confronted the Christians. Ironically, conversion laws had put them in control of ganvkaris which now came under grave financial stress. Starved of revenue, the government taxed the ganvkaris heavily, extracted loans, largely unpaid, and conscripted young men. For instance, ganvkars in Tivim were forced to pay 36,000 xerafins towards the construction of its fort, and young men, required to cultivate fields, were conscripted. In Salcete (1643), even jackfruit and fruit bearing trees were cut down to build ships (de Souza 2017). Food production fell so drastically that Bardes was unable to feed itself for more than four months in a year. Is there any wonder that the largest number of emigrants were from Bardes?





Chapter Thirty Four

A Summing Up

“The Inquisition did not inflict wounds indiscriminately. Ever.” (Olival 2019, quoting Maghaleses). There was purpose, there was motive, there was focus in the selection of persons and regions for investigation and disciplining. These derived from considerations that were sometimes religious, sometimes political, and sometimes due to other causes.

Goa’s Inquisition could not have operated for 252 years in complex and dynamic circumstances without active support from the State, Church, and elite social groups. Each had its own reasons for allying with the secretive and powerful organisation, an organisation that was simultaneously feared and turned to for justice in a society riddled by corruption and constantly threatened by known and unknown dangers. Through this long period, the Inquisition remained Portugal’s premier institution that sought to impose a new identity on its subjects and secure their loyalty through ‘social disciplining’. This process involved reforming Church administration, instilling Christian values in the everyday life of Christians, penetrating individual consciences, and gradually but firmly imposing bonds of obedience to the State and the Church in their minds (Faria 2014).

In this world of contradictions, the Inquisition's largely invisible but pervasive power emanated from the grim facade of the Sabayo Palace, dominating the City's central square, along with the Se Cathedral and Senate. On carefully selected Sundays, annually or more often, inquisitors emerged from the Sabayo Palace to demonstrate their power to all and sundry. The bells of the Se Cathedral announced the staging of grand well-publicised autos-da-fe in which the highest of the land participated and sought seats of honour. Banners and a crucifix held high led the parade of prisoners through watching crowds to the place of reconciliation and punishment.

Yes: reconciliation was, despite what the Black Legend portrays, the primary objective of Goa's Inquisition.

Objectives

The Inquisition was one of the institutions entrusted by the king to consolidate Portugal's cultural and economic expansion into new worlds (Green 2012). Apart from being a guardian of religious orthodoxy, it attempted to mould diverse and widespread subject populations into one nation by imposing a uniform social and cultural code modelled after that in Portugal. Conversion to Christianity and the adoption of cultural norms associated with a Portuguese Christian identity became the cornerstone of this policy.

In extending this policy overseas, Portugal primarily used its experience of suppressing its Jewish minority and forcibly incorporating it into a new social structure. Portugal's Jewish population had reached 20% of its total after the expulsion of Jews from Spain. Today, it has the lowest percent of Jewish population in all of Europe, a reflection on the effectiveness of the Inquisition's methods. An estimated 90% of those sentenced by the Inquisition in Portugal were Cristaos-Novos charged with Judaism (Anderson 2011). This statistic leaves us with a startlingly sober thought: would the Inquisition have been necessary

if this community had not existed? Would there have been a Goan Inquisition?

Probably not. Statistics provide a clear pointer to the founding objective of Goa's Inquisition. Forty-five percent of its cases in the first 40 years of its operations related to Judaism and Islamism. It is only after the neutralisation of the perceived threat from Cristaos-Novos, that gentilidade came into focus.

For subject populations, conversion was initially largely an accommodation with Portugal's policies. However, once the bridge was crossed there was no turning back. This is where the Inquisition's role began. Heresy laws were a powerful weapon in the Inquisition's arsenal to prevent any turning back. The stated aim of the Inquisition was to protect the 'purity of the faith' by rooting out heretics, reforming them, or failing, consigning them to infamy and fire and so erasing their existence and memory. That such prosecutions were not randomly and evenly spread across the Estado shows that there were other objectives as well. The Inquisition selectively targeted particular villages or sections of society in an auto-da-fe. It made its impact, then moved on. Commissars, naiques, faceless informers, and the threat of another inquisitorial visit remained to ensure compliance with its edicts.

An instrument of the State

Goa was the central commercial hub in a region of primary commercial interest due to its trade in Asian spices, gems, and cloth. Goa's Inquisition was one of the institutions established to ensure it remained so. While intimately involved in local matters, the Inquisition was inter-woven into Portugal's global network of institutions with which it interacted and exchanged information. Individual case files were regularly transferred and distant regions visited by authorised officials to pursue and settle contentious issues. This global outreach

involved Goa's Inquisition in issues related to commerce and identity beyond matters strictly concerned with faith, and in matters of finance and politics from its very establishment.

With the king's backing and the mantle of legitimacy conferred by the pope, within the first four decades, it largely eliminated the perceived threat of Cristaos-Novos merchants to the king's commercial interests in Asia while simultaneously cleansing Christian society of heretical Jewish influences. Anyone dealing with Muslim States, Portugal's principal rivals in Asia, was similarly prosecuted. It used religious options against Europeans of rival nations (for example, Calvinists, Pe Effraim, Dellen) in situations where a military option was not feasible. Its greatest focus, however, was on isolating Indian converts from gentio influences. When Maratha activity threatened the State, it was most active in vulnerable areas of the Estado, for instance, Assolna, Cuncolim, Jua, Tivim, Moira, Aldona, and the Provncia do Norte. While the State worked to secure its physical borders militarily and diplomatically, Goa's Inquisition fought an ideological war to secure the minds and loyalties of the State's Christian subjects and thereby tie them down to the defence of the land. Driving them away by excesses would have had exactly the opposite effect. That people still migrated was predominantly due to other causes.

A primary agent of social disciplining

Inquisitors regarded the range of idols, rituals, practices, and cultural forms of identity and expression in India not only as religious matters, but also as visible demonstrations of resistance that threatened Portugal's imperial policy and colonial expectations. In 1584, Inquisitor Rui Sodrinho was instructed to proceed against Christians who adopted cultural fashions and dress of other religious communities for suspected heresy. The Inquisition's operations extended beyond doctrinal issues into the realm of socio-political affairs. The edict

of 1736 was a statement of this intent and an attempt to influence Christian consciences in minute matters of everyday life.

The prosecution of bigamists and sodomites came within the Inquisition's purview because such offences were seen as threats to the social order.

The Inquisition's natural allies in this role were ecclesiastical authority and its lay 'family' of familiars. Its principal officials were priests. They received status, power, and good salaries from the government. Familiars received no remuneration, but were more than compensated by the status and spiritual benefits conferred by the position. By the end of the seventeenth century, naiques had largely replaced them. Their gentio counterparts, already indispensable to the State's economy and prominent in its political and diplomatic circles, maintained a discreet relationship with the Inquisition to protect their social status and the commercial benefits derived from rents and auctions of confiscated goods. In effect, both Christian and gentio privileged classes were the Inquisition's active and tacit allies in maintaining social discipline within the Estado. The socially under-privileged castes and professions were confined within the boundaries prescribed by State, religion, and society. Their role in the Estado, as in neighbouring States, was to slave and to serve.

The Inquisition's eyes and ears

Society at large was the Inquisition's eyes and ears. The Inquisition could never have functioned without the great number of denunciations it received. Edicts of Faith constantly broadcast the message that denunciations were imperative for a clear conscience and salvation of souls. Together with sermons, they induced a sense of guilt and the fear of losing one's soul. By denouncing their own transgressions, and those of others, good Christians unburdened their consciences and fulfilled the Christian obligation of saving souls.

This is illustrated by the sermon preached by the Augustinian Friar Gaspar Amorim in the auto-da-fe of August 26, 1635 in Goa. He justified the penalties meted out to Jews as being in fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies. Obstinate heretics would meet the same fate. He called upon all Christians to participate in the fight against heresy and the salvation of souls by denouncing anyone suspected of heresy, including themselves, to the Inquisition, the "health court" for Christian souls. No one was to be exempted "even if it is your brother, your wife, or a friend you love". Inquisitors removed heretics from Christian society either by curing them of this evil and reconciling them to the Church, or in extreme cases of obstinacy, by extinguishing their physical presence and memory by fire (Faria 2014).

The number of appresentados and denunciations show this approach was very effective. The Inquisition had many tacit collaborators.

A uniquely harsh and unrelenting Goan Inquisition?

Torture and the flames of an auto-da-fe enveloping a heretic have been successfully implanted in our minds by the Black Legend as an authentic representation of a uniquely unrelenting and sadistic Goan Inquisition. This is belied by archival sources.

The primary focus of an investigation was to obtain a confession and abjuration from a person judged guilty. Reconciled persons demonstrated their sincerity by humbly undergoing the punishments imposed on them. Execution was generally reserved for those judged impenitent and obstinate, dogmatic relapses and serial sodomites. Statistics show Goa's Inquisition in a far more lenient light than that of Evora and Lisbon. The records reveal a considerably lesser average number of annual executions than contemporary England or modern America where between 1976 and 2020, 1,527 persons were executed (Death Penalty Information Center, November 20, 2020 www.deathpenaltyinfo.org). An execution was a public acknowledgement

of the Inquisition's failure to reconcile a guilty person, a blot on its reputation.

The General Council recommended that converts be treated with "mildness" so that they were not driven away from the Church. In 1586, an edict of grace granted transgressing converts six months to confess their guilt in order to be received "with kindness and mercy" without any penalty or condemnation (BNR: BN, 25.1.003, n.059). This order was re-issued in 1598 by the inquisitor general (BNR: BN, 25, 1, 001, n.089). In the 1653 auto-da-fe, Goncalo Pinto (Curumbim, surgeon, Tana) and Pedro de Souza (Brahman, ganvkar, Aldona) were punished for their third lapse into gentilidade. They were sentenced to prison, wearing of the carocha and samara fogo revolto perpetually, whipped, and sent to the galleys for 5 years. They had already been reprieved twice by virtue of a papal brief conceding leniency to native Indians (ANTT: PT-TT-TSO-IL-004-0010_m0483). Such "mildness" did not apply to Cristaos-Novos, nor to deviant priests, sodomites, officials of the Inquisition, and those guilty of giving false testimony. They received exemplary punishment.

Punishments imposed by the Inquisition should be compared to those handed out by contemporary civil courts. For instance, 47 persons were arrested for treason in the revolt of 1787 (Cunha Rivara 1996: 26-27, 41-49, 54). Fifteen of them suffered a most gruesome death. They were tied to the tail of a horse and whipped as they were led through the streets to the gallows erected on the banks of the Mandovi. Their hands were severed while still alive, and their head and limbs after. These were exhibited on poles in their places of origin until decomposed and decayed. Five were exiled, another five sent to the galleys, and one absolved. Fourteen priests were shipped to Lisbon's prisons. Eight returned to Goa after 18 long, lonely years of

incarceration. The assets of all were confiscated. This was how the State punished treason at that time.

On a personal note

I did not find any Macedos from Aldona on the Inquisition's auto-da-fe lists. Aldona contributed close to 1% of the Inquisition's case files, with the largest number dating to around the time my ancestor emigrated to Kanara. Perhaps this is the closest I may get to knowing the where, when, and why of this chapter of my family history.

So, to end this book...

Documents preserved in the archives tell a story of an emerging modern judicial system often fairer than other contemporary courts. The Inquisition's judicial procedure was governed by well-drafted regulations and implemented by qualified officials appointed after due diligence. Many of its features can be seen in modern courts: the regulated procedure of the trial, the collection and sifting of evidence, the deterrent punishment meted out to false witnesses, the preservation of records, the access to reference books and case histories preserved in the secreto, the availability of qualified persons to give opinions on theological matters, the appointment of a prosecution and defence attorney, the careful documentation and authentication of a trial by a notary, the collective nature of the judgement, and the chance to appeal to the supreme authority in Lisbon. The ideologies and specifics may differ, the methods often do not.

A book on Goa's Inquisition cannot be complete without attempting to explain how it acquired its reputation as an engine of relentless persecution. There is no doubt that many feared it during its existence. Abbe Carre writes how, on his journey from Goa to Sao Thome, he brought a pompous, arrogant, and insulting Portuguese fidalgo into grovelling and apologetic submission by simply hinting he was a priest

with close ties to the Inquisition (Abbe Carre 1990a: 369). Such was the fear and awe it instilled even beyond the borders of the Estado. Within, many are said to have avoided even eye contact with the vhoddlem ghor.

Many reasons can be cited for such an image. To begin with is the connection to both king and Church and the ability to prosecute persons high and low. The Inquisition's 'family' included the most influential in the land, and its network of informers was spread far and wide. The secrecy shrouding its operations spread an aura of fear; the shock and awe of regular and periodic autos-da-fe delivered the hammer blow that drove home the message of what awaited deviants from the prescribed path.

The Inquisition sought to control minds. It was the only judicial court that prosecuted persons for 'crimes' committed in the mind, which while difficult to prove, could also be equally difficult to disprove. An innocuous word or action was all that was needed to initiate an investigation.

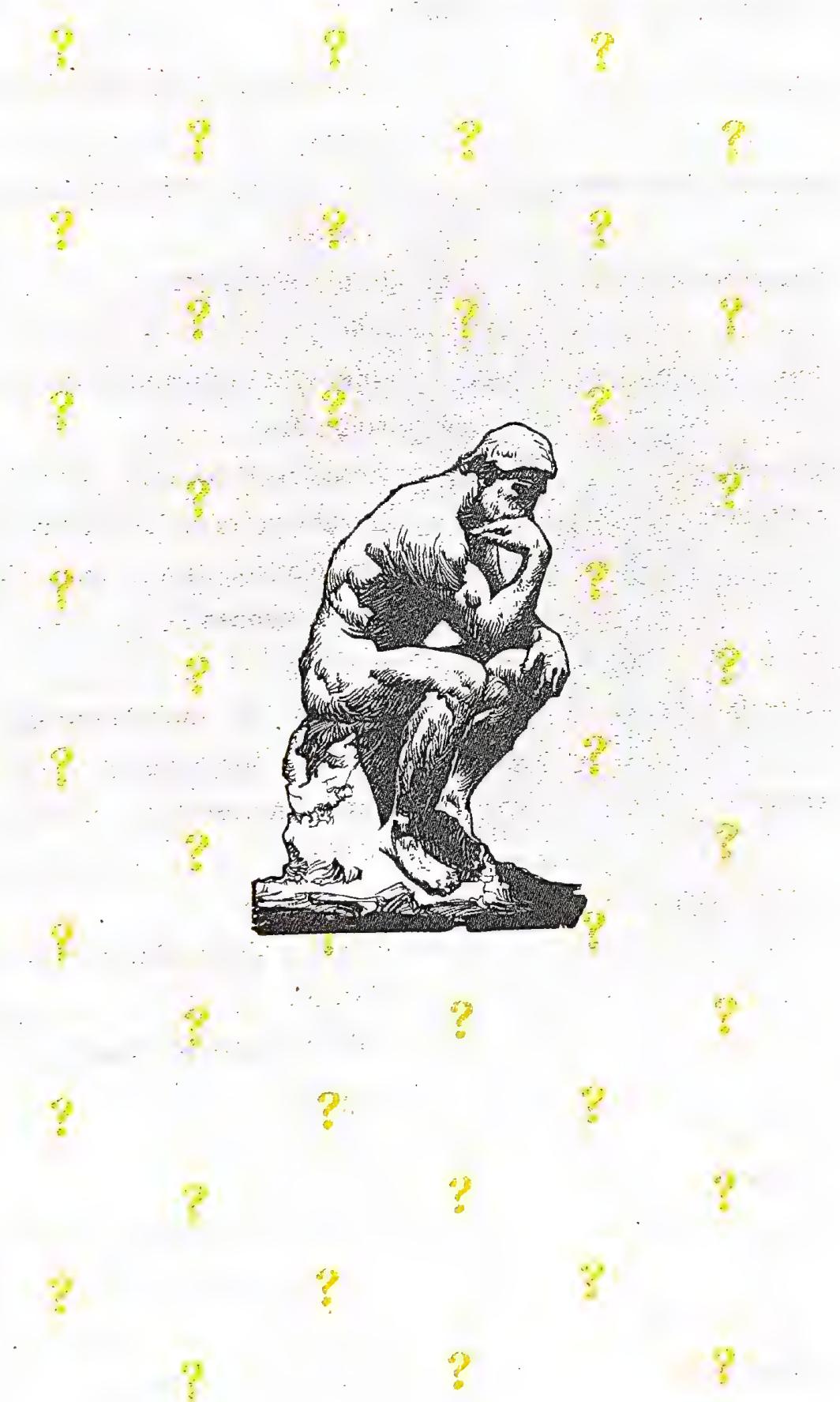
My own views tend to align with those expressed here: "Only 'in polemic and fiction' did 'The Inquisition' exist, 'a single all powerful, horrific tribunal whose agents worked everywhere to thwart religious truth, intellectual freedom, and political liberty.' This is the myth of 'The Inquisition' that emerged over the past four hundred years, both as a result of deep hostilities between Catholic and Protestant writers of the intervening centuries and of grisly cinematic renderings of dark-robed, pitiless inquisitors sending innocents to a fiery death" (Deane 2011: 88).

Instead of the uni-dimensionality of the Black Legend, I see a narrative layered with nuance and paradox. As I see the Inquisition as a powerful and active instrument of State policy, with the viceroy and archbishop competing for seats of honour at an auto-da-fe, I also see

chattering and argumentative customers bargaining at the butcher's shop located on the ground floor of the Sabayo Palace (Chapter 8), and the Inquisition's treasurer fretting over uncollected rents. I also visualise the auto-da-fe hall that once stood on the open ground adjacent to the Se Cathedral where today tourists relax with a drink and snack. I ask, as I stand and watch, if the soft breeze cooling my ears could be the sigh of a resident ghost of one who suffered incarceration and death and who could not understand why men of learning could not comprehend his need to follow the rituals of his fore-fathers.

To me, these contrasting images will continue to influence my understanding of Goa's Inquisition. No doubt, it could be different for you.

Chapter 34: A Summing Up



Glossary and Notes

abjuracao de leve	abjuration for light suspicion of heresy
abjuracao de vehemente	abjuration for vehement suspicion of heresy
abjuracao em forma	formal abjuration
alvara	edict
appresentado	one who denounced himself voluntarily
apostasia	from Greek, meaning defection
auto-da-fe	literally 'act of faith'; ceremony in which prisoners were reconciled and sentenced
botto	gentio priest
cafre (fem. cafra)	African slave; from Arabic kaffir, meaning non-believer
carocha	conical dunce hat; part of costume of infamy
casa do despacho	court room
cattivo	captive slave of non-African descent
chela	military slave in Haider/Tipu's army
confitente	confessed
convicto	convicted
Cristaos-Novos	literally New Christian; Iberian Jewish/ Muslim convert
culpas judaismo	crime related to Judaism
culpas mouro	crime related to Islam

Curumbim	caste status composed largely of agricultural labourers
diminuto	partially confessed
em gentio	as a gentile
Estado da India	literally 'State of India'; Portuguese territories in India
falso	false
familiare	lay official of the Inquisition, generally Portuguese fidalgo
feiticeiro	sorcerer
ficto	deluded
fidalgo	Portuguese of rank
ganvkar	administrator/collective owner of village lands
gentilidade	gentile rituals and practices
gentio	gentile
infieis	literally not of the faith; a non-Christian
impenitente	impenitent
marrano	derogatory term for New Christian of Jewish ancestry
meirinho	lay official of the Inquisition
meza	literally table; inquisitorial court
mistico	person of mixed descent
mourisco	New Christian of Muslim ancestry
mouro	Muslim
muly	diviner for crops
naique	Indian replacement of familiare
negativo	in denial
nefando	nefarious; word used for sodomy

obstinado	obstinate
oratorio	chapel
ovios	traditional Konkani wedding songs
pacto do diabo	pact with the devil
pertinaz	pertinacious
polvara	gunpowder mill
promotor	prosecuting lawyer
regimentos	Inquisition's bye-laws
relapso	relapsed
relaxado	person handed over to secular authorities after sentencing
relaxado em carne	burnt in flesh, usually after strangulation
relaxado em statua	burnt in effigy in case of absentee/dead persons
rendeiro	tax collector
revogante	revoking a confession
sanbenito	costume of infamy
samara	costume of infamy worn by condemned
samara fogo revolto	samara with inverted flames the
secreto	Inquisition's secret archive
simulado	simulated
strappado	form of torture
terra firme	literally firm land; mainland
vangod	clan
vhoddilachem ghor	Konkani: house of elders
vhoddlem ghor	Konkani: big house

Online archives and libraries

Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon)

Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Lisbon)

Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro)

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Index

Abbe Carre 189, 260, 309

Abjuration 101, 113, 144, 145, 150; form 109

Aldona 2, 145, 212, 214, 215, 220, 309

Appresentado 21, 101, 135

Archbishop of Evora 283-288

Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT) 1, 4, 23, 26

Assolna auto-da-fe 196, 200

auto-da-fe meaning 144; Lisbon, first 38; Lisbon, 1561 54-60; Goa, first 51; Goa, last 157; description 147-148; statistics 154-157; comparison, 1774

Inventory 138-141

Bardes 212-218

Bigamy 104, 112, 133, 178

Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil 1, 26

(BNR)

Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal 1, 21

(BNP)

Black Legend creation 9-13; in India 13-18, 310

Bombay 205

Buchanan, Claudius 13, 14

Buchanan, Francis 275

Burnings England 279, 283; Bombay 280; sati 278; statistics 281

Caldeira, Leonar 56

Carocha costume of infamy 147; image 53, 146

Catívo	250
Constantino, Pe	237
Cristaos-Novos	4, 33, 37, 43; in India 45-47; in Cochin 54-56
Cuncolim	196-202
Dellon	142, 188-192, 288
Dutch rivalry	10, 68-69, 117, 214, 298
Edict of 1736	208-211
Edict of Faith	101
Emigration	Brahman 294, 300; Christian 296- 300
Ephraim, Pe	142, 186-187
Figueira	158
Gabriel	264-270
Ganvkar General Assembly Salcete	9, 202
Garcia da Orta	161, 162
gentilidade	118, 182, 206
gentio	1, 66, 80, 86, 167, 255, 259, 298, 300
Heresy	28-29, 106, 110-114, 260
infieis	242
Inquisition	2; archives 21-23; in Roman Law 8; in Europe 28-36; arrival in Goa 40- 51; objectives 303-305; jurisdiction 4; changing image 18-19; shifting territorial focus 75; officials 90-94; salaries 94-95; offences prosecuted 130-136, 172, 235-240; procedures 100-108; closure 23
Inventory of 1774	23-26
Islamism	130

Joao da Costa, Pe	124-129
Jua auto-da-fe	202
Konkani, 1684 ban	190-193
Maratha conflicts	2, 22, 69-71, 296, 299, 305
Naiques	96; Salcete 89, 255; Ilhas 98, 256; Bardes 98, 256
Numbers	persons 137; regions 73; autos-da-fe 157; burnings 281; Bardes 214; Aldona 215, 229; padres 234; non-Christians 244
Ottomans	41
Pintos of Candolim	96, 97
Priolkar	16-18
Provncia do Norte	203
<i>Regimento</i>	21, 100, 122, 130
Reubeni	42, 43
Sabayo Palace	77-88
samara	147; image 146
sanbenito	145; image 146
Se Cathedral	145
secreto	see Inquisition archives
Slaves	248-251
Sodomy	122, 123
Sorcery	119
Tipu Sultan	threat to Goa 72; Goan chelas 274
Torture	105-107
Vhoddlem ghor	see Sabayo Palace
Xavier, Francis	52